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CAP. XX.

MR. HAY'S SUCCESS AS A PREACHER—DEATH OF BISHOP SMITH, AGED 84, IN 1769—MR. HAY, PROCURATOR—RESIDES AT EDINBURGH—SUCCEEDED AT PRESHOME BY MR. JOHN GEDDES—MR. HAY, COADJUTOR—DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN GODSMAN—REPUTED A SAINT AND MUCH LAMENTED—DESTITUTION OF THE MISSION—EFFORTS FOR ITS RELIEF—LIBERALITY OF MR. CONSTABLE—£1000 FROM ROBERTUS JACOBUS THROUGH BISHOP CHALLONER—BISHOP HAY AND REV. J. GEDDES STRIVE TO HAVE CATHOLIC PUBLICATIONS--"JOHNNY PETERSON"--SCALAN A COLLEGE IN SPAIN—FRUITLESS FOR A TIME—REV. J. GEDDES, DELEGATE—HIS SUCCESS—GENEROSITY OF SPANISH AMBASSADOR—COLLEGE TRANSFERRED TO VALLADOLID—MR. GEDDES TEN YEARS RECTOR—PERSECUTION POWERLESS—CONVERSIONS IN ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY—BISHOP HAY AND SCALAN—FIRST MENTION OF BISHOP RONALD M'DONALD—THE BOISDALE PERSECUTION—LEADS TO IMPORTANT EVENTS—HARD LAIRDS BROUGHT TO REASON.

Mr. Hay highly appreciated the importance of good preaching ; and he applied with great judgment

and industry to the work of acquiring the art of extemporaneous preaching, which he believed to be the most effective. His studies were not in vain; and we have it on the authority of his best biographers that as a preacher he became very popular. Protestants even took delight in hearing him. It is related that on occasion of one of his journeys through Buchan he stayed over a Sunday and preached at a place called Bythe. There were many Protestants among his hearers; and it was observed that they were moved to tears, and were heard to say to one another as they came out: "If he preached here always, we would never go anywhere else." Such impressions could not be too often produced, especially in such times as those in which the lot of Mr. Hay and his brethren was cast.

Soon after the death of Bishop Smith, at the advanced age of eighty-four, in the year 1769, Mr. Hay was appointed Procurator for the mission of Scotland; and was, in consequence, obliged to leave his congregation at Preshome, in whose cause he had laboured so well and so successfully, and take up his residence at Edinburgh, his native city. He was succeeded in his pastoral charge of Rathven by Mr. John Geddes, who, such was the importance of this mission, was recalled from the presidency of Scalan, and replaced there by a priest recently ordained at

Rome, and who had been for a short time prefect of studies at Douai. Mr. Hay, notwithstanding the laborious nature of his new charge, which he owed to his great ability and experience in business, was not exempt from missionary duty, for which there was a large field at Edinburgh.

Another year, and another, and greater dignity fell to the share of Mr. Hay. It is not to be wondered at that Bishop Grant, now Vicar Apostolic, who had been so often and so severely tried by illness, should seek the aid of a coadjutor. With the consent of both the Highland bishops and of the whole clerical body in the Lowlands, he proposed Mr. Hay. The proposal at once received the sanction of the Holy See. No voice was raised against the appointment, except that of Mr. Hay himself. His unwillingness to accept the dignity and his dread of its responsibilities may be learned from his letters, on the occasion, to Abbate Grant and Cardinal Castelli. The consecration could not well take place till summer, when travelling is less difficult. Danger of publicity must also be avoided, such was still the state of feeling in the country regarding Catholics. Edinburgh could not be thought of, nor could Preshome, where anything concerning Mr. Hay would spread with all the rapidity of rumour. Scalan, therefore, was determined on, as being so much more retired than any other place. Thither, accordingly, the Bishops proceeded, and on Trinity Sunday, May 21st, 1769, Mr. Hay was consecrated, under, the title of Bishop of Daulis, by Bishop Grant of the Lowland Vicariate, who was assisted by the venerable Bishop Hugh Macdonald, of the Highlands, and his coadjutor, Bishop John Macdonald.

The same year the Rev. John Godsman was called from his earthly labours. His best eulogium is the universal mourning which his death occasioned, and the opinion, unanimously expressed, that a real saint had passed from earth to heaven.

At the time of Bishop Hay's accession to the coadjutorship, the Scotch mission appears to have been in a state of great destitution. There was a great want everywhere, and even at Edinburgh, of suitable vestments and decent altar furniture. Even cheap books of instruction, that were so necessary for the people, could not be procured; and the clergy had no adequate means of subsistence, but were obliged to change from house to house, as circumstances might direct. An appeal for aid to the Catholics of England, through Mr. Constable, of Evringham, a warm friend of religion, was thought of; and Bishop Hay engaged the good services of the Dowager Countess of Traquair to induce Mr. Constable to lay the case of the mission before the

Catholics of England. Lady Traquair requested the Bishop to prepare a memorial, representing in plain terms the manifold wants of the mission. This was done, and both the Dowager Countess and Mr. Constable were highly pleased with the Bishop's statement. They resolved to lay it before Bishop Challoner; and, relying on his good will in the matter, asked him to give his opinion whether application should be made to the English Catholics generally, or that there should only be solicitation among private friends. It fell to Bishop Hay, the immediate departure of Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable not admitting of time to consult the other Bishops, to present the memorial to Bishop Challoner, in the name of his colleagues, stating at the same time, the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, at the time, of obtaining any aid from Rome, and suggesting that Divine Providence had, perhaps, reserved it for the English nation and for Bishop Challoner in particular, as the crown of his former good offices, to be the happy instrument of bestowing so great a benefit on the Catholics of Scotland. The reply to this appeal was very friendly, but, owing to circumstances, not calculated to afford any immediate encouragement. There were two public collections in progress at the time. "As to particular contributions," said Bishop Challoner, "I doubt not but some, if properly applied to, might be willing to assist you. I shall make some trial among my friends." This utterance was a sufficient authorization for Lady Traquair and Mr. Constable to commence their mission of charity. Not long afterwards the latter sent £100 to Bishop Hay as a contribution from himself. When Bishop Hay was writing to inform Bishop Grant of the above particulars, he received another letter, in which Bishop Challoner writes, with evident pleasure; "Honoured sir, admire and adore the goodness of God. Since I wrote to you, I was visited by a person of great honour and virtue, to whom I showed your memorial, upon the perusal of which he proposed to me the giving you, for the necessities of your mission, the sum of £1,000, with an eye to your present relief, and the procuring the prayers of your missionaries for the repose of the soul of his kinsman deceased, for whom he had destined the money." Reference to the current directory and Ordo for Scotland shows that Mass is still celebrated by all the clergy for this generous benefactor. (Pro Roberto Jacobo.) Bishop Grant addressed a letter of thanks to the friendly English Bishop for his goodness. He replied in writing to Bishop Hay: "My best thanks to that worthy gentleman. His prayers I thankfully accept of; but, as to the rest, the benefit you lately received is owing to a particular providence of our merciful Lord. To Him alone be all the glory."

Bishop Hay, in addition to his episcopal functions and duties as a missionary pastor, was much occupied in providing for the security of the mission funds and, at the same time, with the settlement of the late Bishop Smith's affairs. He was also busy as a publisher. He contemplated printing ten or twelve thousand copies of a catechism. It would appear that the failure of the Catholic bookseller, Mr. Meighan, of London, interfered with this undertaking; for the Bishop complains that it caused great confusion and stagnation of trade among Catholic booksellers. The Rev. John Geddes, now at Preshome, made similar efforts; and even expressed to the Bishop his conviction that he ought to use some of the public money in printing books for the common people, such great importance did he attach to the gratuitous distribution of shorter catechisms and manuals of devotion.

Bishop Hay added to his other employments that of preparing ecclesiastical students for ordination. He taught a promising youth whom, in his correspondence, he calls *Johnny Paterson*, how to read Theology, and, in due course, had him ordained priest, and then set over the seminary and congregation at Scalan.

Considering that the spirit of persecution, although somewhat quiescent, was far from dead, it was fortunate that any kind of seminary could be maintained in Scotland. In however humble a condition, the House of Scalan had been held for many years, and still showed no appearance of decay. It is not a little astonishing that in so Catholic a country as Spain, the same good fortune could not be obtained. About a hundred years before Bishop Hay's time, a Scotch gentleman, Colonel Semple, who had been long in the service of Spain, bequeathed a sum of money to be employed in founding a seminary at Madrid, for the training of Ecclesiastics destined for the mission of Scotland. The deed of foundation and endowment bears that "when the students, who must be Scotchmen by birth, of good family and character, shall be skilled in these sciences (the sciences proper to their state,) they must return to the said kingdom of Scotland to preach the Gospel, etc." The chief support of the seminary was to be derived from certain houses in Madrid, which belonged to the founder. The Fathers of the Society of Jesuits were placed in charge; and the right to appoint a rector was vested in the Provincial at Toledo. Great things were expected. But it so happened, that, for a long time, owing, perhaps, to the teaching and impressions imparted by the Rev. Fathers of the Society, students were formed who joined them, but not one who became a priest for the poor missions of Scotland. Later on the seminary acquired so high a reputation as an educational establishment that it became a school for the children of Spanish Grandees. On occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers from Spain, the seminary property fell into the hands of the Spanish Government. It was now, as a few words will show, nearer its destination, according to the will of the founder, through the action of the State, than when under the power of churchmen, who always claimed to be zealous champions of the Faith. The Grandees of Catholic Spain were not insensible to the evils that weighed so heavily on the robbed and afflicted Catholics of Scotland. The Bishops, being aware of this state of feeling, hoped that redress might be obtained by making application to the Spanish Government. The English Catholic agent at Madrid did all that lay in his power to assist in the matter. But it could not be hoped that a final and favourable decision could be come to until the Bishops were represented at the Spanish capital. At first, it was proposed that Bishop Hay should be the delegate. But he declined, as he could not afford, at the time, to represent, as became a Bishop, among the Grandees of the Spanish Court. The Rev. John Geddes was then chosen. He regretted leaving his flock at Preshome, and dreaded his want of diplomatic experience. This was a groundless fear. His great ability and knowledge of the world fully qualified him for the office laid upon him. He hesitated not to obey, and at once proceeded on his journey. On reaching London, he was introduced to the Spanish Ambassador, who received him kindly, volunteered to defray the expenses of his mission to Madrid, and gave him introductions to his friends at the Spanish Court. This was an auspicious commencement. There was some diplomatic delay; and this, to an unexperienced diplomatist, was somewhat discouraging. It gave him time, however, to learn the language of the country and to make friends. Finally he prevailed. The Spanish Government gave up the Semple property without a grudge, to the Scotch mission; and, moreover, allowed it to be transferred to Valladolid, the delegate having represented that the climate there was better suited to the constitutions of his fellow-countrymen than that of Madrid. While the building intended for a college was in preparation, Mr. Geddes caused fifteen ecclesiastical students to be brought from Scotland, so that studies could be at once commenced. Thus was the benevolent and pious purpose of Colonel Semple at last effectually realized. Mr. Geddes, when writing home, says in a spirit of moderation, which well became his character: "I do believe Father Clarke and his brethren meant no harm to their country. They may have met with difficulties that we are strangers to; and they may have seen things in another light than we do. However, I think I may safely say that, in all probability, things would have been on a better footing in Scotland than they are, had even twelve students of the secular clergy been constantly maintained in Spain these hundred and thirty years, according to the founder's intention." Mr. Geddes remained at Valladolid over ten years, as rector of the restored college. This institution, so valuable to the missions of Scotland, has continued till the present time, with no other serious interruption than that which occurred during the wars of Napoleon. Those wars at an end, the professors and students returned to the college, and studies were resumed with the usual efficiency and success.

Although the missionary priests of Scotland were at this time very few in number, their labours were not without fruit. It would have been worthy of all their pains if they had only supported and encouraged to perseverance their Catholic brethren who had remained steadfast. But they did more than this; like truly good shepherds, they brought back the erring to the fold. At the hamlet of Auchenhalrig, the Rev. Alex. Geddes reconciled to the Church, during the short time he was in charge there, no fewer than twenty-seven persons who had fallen away, and was favoured, besides, to receive several converts. The unwholesome breath of persecution which still filled the air could not prevent conversions, and they occurred occasionally in all classes of society. During a short stay at Aberbeen, in 1770, Bishop Hay received into the Church and confirmed a lady of some consequence, Mrs. Barclay, whom it cost him very little trouble to instruct, as she had already studied Gother.

Bishop Hay was too well aware of the great advantages of a good ecclesiastical education to lose an opportunity of imparting it, or causing it to be imparted, to youths of good promise. To this enlightened zeal the mission was indebted for several worthy priests. At this time, 1770, the Bishop does not appear to have had a high idea of the competency of Scalan as a seminary. Two boys, who had run away from that place, he received into his own home, and taught them, together with one Ranald MacDonald, whom he had picked up at Inverness, till places opened for them in the foreign seminaries of the mission. The two first, Thomas Robertson and Robert Menzies, became very efficient missionary priests, while Ranald MacDonald, in due time, rose to Episcopal diginity, and was long known as the honoured Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district.

Speaking of the Catholics of last century, it comes to be our painful duty to record a severe trial to which a considerable number of them were subjected —a trial which, whilst it caused great hardship to many worthy families, and inflicted lasting disgrace on its cruel author, led to events which are of no slight importance in the history of Canada and the Canadian Church. Mr. MacDonald, of Boisdale, who had been educated as a Catholic, but who, in his maturer years, renounced the Faith, with all the blind zeal of an apostate, resolved to force his numerous tenants, who were Catholics, to conform to the Presbyterian worship. The Island of Uist, the largest of the outer Hebrides, was almost all inhabited by Catholics. Boisdale and his cousin German, the chief of the Clanranald branch of the MacDonalds, were the proprietors. Boisdale, in addition to his own estate, held extensive lands of his cousin; so that his tenants, all Catholics, amounted to two hundred families. He, at first, in order to alienate the people from their religion, insidiously invited them to send their children to attend, gratuitously, the instructions of a Presbyterian tutor, who taught his own children. The unsuspecting people, anxious to have their children educated, availed themselves of an opportunity which appeared so favourable. It was not long, however, till the real intention of the Laird became manifest. Abuse of the Catholic religion was mingled with the teacher's daily lessons. Scurrilous and even immoral sentences were given to be copied by those who were learning to write, and when Lent came round, flesh meat was forced into the mouths of the children. When the people noticed these iniquitous proceedings, they, with the concurrence of the missionary of the place, F. Wynne, O.S.D., withdrew the children from Boisdale's school. The latter now raged against the priest, threatening to apprehend him as a criminal, if he dared to perform, any more, any of the offices of his religion, or even to remain in the Island. He went so far as to say that if he met the priest, he would twist his head from his shoulders. F. Wynne withdrew to Ireland, his native country, and was succeeded by Mr. Alexander MacDonell, a secular priest. Boisdale now got up a paper, in the Gaelic language, which he summoned his tenants to hear read at the term of Whit Sunday, 1770. This paper, which contained a formal renunciation of the Catholic religion and a promise, under oath, never to hold communication with a priest, the people were required to sign, or leave their houses and farms in the Island. On this the tenants unanimously declared their resolution to beg or starve rather than submit to such conditions.

Accordingly they prepared immediately to quit the Island. This was more than the heartless Laird had calculated on. Dreading the loss which he would sustain in consequence of his lands remaining for a long time tenantless, he renewed the leases unconditionally for another year. He had no sooner done so, and had the tenants once more in his power, than he renewed his cruel demands, trebling and quadrupling their rents. He kept them, besides, in constant agitation by summoning them to discuss with him his unreasonable conditions, and that in the busiest times of the year. Far from the courts of law and legal advice, they could have no redress. In addition to all this, the cruel apostate used his monopoly of the trade of the Island to impoverish his tenants, and reduce them to the lowest servitude. It became thus impossible for them to escape from his tyranny by leaving the Island. And so, in the meantime, the barbarous Laird added insult to oppression, using the grossest abuse, apparently with impunity. But the day of deliverance and retribution was not far distant. The oppressed people of Uist were not without powerful friends. The aged Bishop Hugh MacDonald, on hearing of such cruelty, was greatly moved. He lost no time in laying the whole case before his Brother Bishops. The friendly Bishop Challoner was also duly informed, as was also Cardinal Costelli. A plan for emigration to the American colony of St. John's Island (now Prince Edward's), suggested by Mr. MacDonald of Glenaladale, was highly approved of by Bishop Hay, whilst his friend, the Rev. John Geddes, was opposed to it on the ground that it was calculated to drain the Highlands of the Catholic population. It was not intended to be carried to such an extent, Bishop Hay showed, as to have this result, but would be sufficient to show the tyrant of Uist that the people there could not be bound to his yoke. The only difficulty was to raise the necessary funds; £2,000 would be necessary for the Uist emigrants. This sum, Glenaladale volunteered to procure on the security of his own estate. But this could not be done sooner than Whit Sunday. Meanwhile, Boisdale, hearing of the effectual means that were in progress for the relief of his tenantry, resolved on a cessation of his cruel measures; and Bishop Hay became convinced that the persecution was at an end. It was so, however, only in appearance. Boisdale had not as yet reformed. But he was not destined to hold out much longer. Emigration was beginning to tell, both as regarded him and other hard landlords. No fewer than 400 people had sailed from Skye to Carolina, with some of the gentlemen of that large Island at their head. Many of Glenaladale's neighbours were selling off their stock in order to go with him in the spring.

CAP. XXI.

BISHOP CHALLONER IN THE CAUSE OF THE UIST CATHOLICS—BISHOP GRANT'S GRATITUDE—LETTER OF THANKS ALSO FROM ABBATE GRANT—AN ESTATE PURCHASED IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND—EFFORTS OF GLENALADALE—EMIGRANTS ACCOMPANIED BY A PRIEST—CLAN RANALD INSISTS ON TOLERATION—THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER INTERESTS HIMSELF AGAINST THE BOISDALE PERSECUTION—SO DOES THE POPE—BOISDALE FEARS THE MANY FRIENDS OF THE CATHOLICS—PERSECUTION AT AN END—THE UIST PEOPLE PROSPERING IN THEIR NEW HOME—GLENALADALE SELLS HIS ESTATE AND REPAIRS TO THE ISLAND—IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE HIGHLAND EMIGRATION—BISHOP HAY'S LITERARY LABOURS—DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF SEAFORTH A CATHOLIC—ALSO THE COUNTESS OF TRAQUAIR—CAUTION IN PUBLISHING—PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS—DR. CAMPBEL—DEFENCE BY BISHOP HAY—THE ALETHEIAN CLUB—DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND.

Bishop Challoner, not unmindful of the application that had been made to him, kindly interested himself in the cause of the Uist Catholics. He desired to see the memorial that had been drawn up, fully stating their case, highly approved of it, had it printed at his own expense, and presented to the English Catholics, as well as to his own more particular friends. All sympathised with the persecuted people of the North. Collections were made at the chapels of the Catholic ambassadors in London, and a considerable sum of money thus raised, which facilitated the scheme of emigration. Hearing of this generosity, Bishop Grant wrote in reply to Bishop Hay, December 16th, 1771: "I am charmed with Bishop Challoner's amiable behaviour. I pray God to reward him for all his charity. You'll readily write to him about the beginning of the new year. I beg compliments to him in the most respectful and affectionate manner." Bishop Hay also requested the Abbate Grant, of Rome, to have a letter of thanks addressed to Bishop Challoner for his great zeal in the Uist affair. Glenaladale had purchased a large estate in St. John's (Prince Edward's) Island, to which he proposed to remove a numerous colony of Highland Catholics. In furtherance of his plan, he visited the Island of Uist along with Bishop John MacDonald. Matters were not so satisfactory there as he expected. Some of the families were so poor as not to be able to contribute as much as was hoped for towards the expenses of emigration. Glenaladale was not to be baffled. He repaired to Edinburgh, and there, representing the state of things, he obtained £500 of the memorial money, the whole sum required being £1,500. He was now enabled to proceed; and 210 emigrants sailed in the ship he had got ready, for St. John's Island, 100 from Uist, the rest from the mainland. They were accompanied by the Reverend James Macdonald, a missionary priest, who held faculties from Rome until he should have them renewed by the Bishop of Quebec. Clan Ranald now interposed, and insisted that his cousin, Boisdale, should extend religious toleration to the people who remained. The Abbate Grant showed a translation of the memorial to the Holy Father, who brought it under the notice of the young Duke of Gloucester, at the time resident in Rome, with a view to secure his interference in behalf of the persecuted Highlanders, and to obtain for them liberty of conscience. The Prince generously promised to use his most vigourous endeavours to put a stop to Boisdale's cruelty. The Pope also charged the Nuncio at Paris, to call the attention of the British Ambassador to the same subject.

It was now manifest to all Highland landlords, and by proofs to which even Boisdale could not shut his eyes, that the Catholics had powerful friends at a distance, and that it would not be quite safe to drive them to extremities by harsh and persecuting measures. Rev. Alex. MacDonald, the priest of Barra, bears witness, in a letter to Bishop Hay, which is well worth quoting, how completely religious persecution was put an end to in the Highlands, by means of the proceeeings above related.

To Bishop Hay, September 25th, 1774.

* * * "Since our late terror and persecution, Boisdale is quite reformed, and is himself, to all appearance, the person who repents the most for his former doings. He grants his people a most unlimited toleration in religious teachers, welcomes our clergy always to his family, uses them with the utmost civility, and with the deference they are entitled to. His condescension is sometimes so great, that we are allowed to perform some of our functions within the precincts of his palace; for, to be serious, he has built such a genteel house as I never expected to see in the Long Island (Uist). This grand truth that God oftentimes permits evil in order to draw good from it, is in a glorious manner verified with regard to Boisdale's former unaccountable conduct; for, his anti-Christian attempts proving unsuccessful, notwithstanding his arts, interests and riches, has effectually deterred others, actuated by the like unscrupulous principles, from ever attempt-

ing the like undertaking. Protestants in general, live now in good harmony with us, and upon better terms than heretofore. They no longer look upon us as a set of execrable wretches, destitute of friends and the abomination of King and Government; so that the consequences of Boisdale's foolish attempt had, in the end, proved salutary and beneficial to religion, and are likely to continue to do so." * *

The emigrants arrived safely at St. John's after a fine passage of seven weeks. It was not long until they began to prosper in their new home. Bishop Hay, writing to Mr. Geddes, says: "The Uist people are doing extremely well in John's Island, coming fast on and living already much better than at home." Such accounts were encouraging, and were followed, in 1773, by a numerous emigration from Glengarry. The emigrants were 300 in number, and almost all Catholics, including the greater part of the country gentlemen. The noble-minded Glenaladale sold his estate in Scotland and went to share the fortunes of his fellow-countrymen whom he had so generously and successfully assisted in their emigration to St. John's Island. His departure from Scotland was much regretted by Bishop Hay and his other friends. "He is sacrificing," said the Bishop, "fortune and person for the good of those poor sufferers. But what a loss to us that he should leave us?"

It has just been remarked that evil is often permitted in order that good may result. This indeed, appears to be the way of Providence. "From partial evil oft educing good, and better on to better still, in infinite progression."

The scheme of emigration, promoted by a few benevolent individuals, not only put an end to a cruel persecution, and provided for, the comfort of the persecuted, but in addition to this, its first and noblest object, it contributed by introducing into British North America, an industrious and loyal population, to lay the foundations of that important colony, now known as *the Dominion of Canada*, and which, with its seven Provinces, extends from ocean to ocean. The emigration, moreever, which, at first, was considered as a hardship, and adopted only as a remedy for a greater evil, became the auspicious commencement of that Catholic christendom, which, of late years, has been blessed with such great developments in British North America.

A glance at Bishop Hay's literary and controversial labours will not prove uninteresting. The origin of his admirable Treatise on Miracles is best shown in a letter which he wrote to the Rev. William Reid, who had lately retired to Aberdeen, afflicted with asthma, February 21st, 1771. * * *. "Now, with regard to the controversial affair, you know I am engaged at present in writing upon Miracles and Transubtantiation, in consequence of Mr. Duguid's dispute with Mr. Abernethy. I am only on the former part, as yet, viz: on Miracles, and I have it much at heart, as the little study I have got made upon it has really been a great pleasure and of much use to myself. I could never have thought so many good and useful things could have been said upon that subject, as I see now may be done, and really am in earnest to get it finished. In consequence you will imagine I am well advanced. I'll tell you how far. It is done in the form of letters, and since my return from the North, last August, I have finished one letter which was begun before I went North, and have got another near fit for recopying. Judge you from this whether I have time for composing * * * * Conversions, at this time, were becoming more frequent; and there were some in the higher and better educated classes. Lady Margaret Mackenzie, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Seaforth, was received into the Church at Easter of this year, 1771, and was confirmed by Bishop Hay on April 27th. The same year the Countess of Traquair was also reconciled to the Church. Such conversions were consoling, and gave proof that a better time had come. Nevertheless, circumstances were not, as yet, all that could be desired. There was a great dearth of clergy, as mentioned at a meeting of the Bishops held this year at Scalan. As regarded publishing books for defence, or instruction, nothing could be done but with the greatest secrecy. Bishop Hay undertook to produce a new edition of that able piece of controversy, "The Protestant's Trial by the Written Word," but was obliged to proceed with the greatest caution. In addition to the printer's interest, which, so far, held him to secrecy, the precaution was taken of concealing from him the name of the editor, a third party, who was understood to have nothing to do with the editing, being employed to deal with the printer. Bishop Hay's opinion of the work is well worth recording. "The piece itself," he says in a letter to Bishop Grant, "in my humble opinion, is one of the most useful controversial works that can be put into the hands of your people, and quite fitted for this country."

About this time the more active persecution of the State having ceased, that of the press began. An accomplished writer, who had not hitherto been noted for bitter and low spoken attacks on the Church—Dr. George Campbel, Principal of Marschal College, Aberdeen, published a sermon which he had preached before the Synod of that city, in which he departed from his usual polished style, and fell into an imitation of the most vulgar and weak attacks on the Catholic religion. His reputation as an author caused this unworthy publication to be widely circulated. Bishop Hay, on returning from a visit to Traquair, found it was the subject of general conversation, and it was pronounced by Protestants to be unanswerable and the death blow to "Popery." The consummate art with which it was written, and its insinuating tone were its only merits. As Bishop Hay declared, it was "a poor and pitiful affair." As such, the Bishop at first had no thought of replying to it. Somehow, notwithstanding, probably as a literary recreation, he began to note down, occasionally, answers to its remarks. These he showed to some of his friends, who strongly advised that he should give them to the public. Accordingly, he resolved on doing so, and towards the end of August, informed Bishop Grant of his purpose and that he had already placed his reply to Dr. Campbel in the hands of a learned Jesuit, the Provincial of the Scotch Jesuits, and the Rev. Mr. Cruikshanks, in order to have the benefit of their criticism. If he had their approval and the sanction of the senior Bishop, he would immediately publish his reply. He represented to the Bishop that there would be no risk in publishing, as the work was so framed as to appear to be the production of a Protestant, and, besides, was written in the style of "The free examination into the causes of the growth of Popery." All parties concerned approving, the reply was committed to the press, Bishop Hay answering for all expense and risk, relying on a favourable sale. By the end of September the printing was completed, and the little work appeared under the title of "Detection of the dangerous tendency, both for Christianity and Protestancy, of a sermon said to be preached before an assembly of Divines by George Campbel, D.D., on the spirit of the Gospel.—Ps. 1, 20, 21. By a member of the Aletheian Club, London; printed for the Aletheian Club and sold by J. P. Coghlan, etc."

The object of the said club was to search after religious truth without prejudice. In the introduction to the "detection," the club is supposed to say: "A sermon, lately published in North Britain, and said to be the production of the celebrated author of the "Dissertation on Miracles," fell into the hands of this society. Finding, on perusal, that it contained many things dangerous to true religion, and that the author had used the utmost efforts of art and all the eloquence he was master of, to gild the pill, and the more securely communicate the poison to his readers, they thought it an object worthy of their attention to detect the dangerous tendency of this sermon, and undeceive the unwary readers, many of whom they had heard, in his native country, had received it with the highest esteem and approbation. The charge of doing this they committed to one of their members, Staurophilus, who was then residing at some distance from London, informing him, at the same time, of the reception the sermon had met with, and begging a speedy compliance with their request. His answer, in a letter to the club, is being presented to the public. The pressing desire of his friends for a speedy answer, hindered him from making a regular examination of the whole sermon. He has, therefore, confined himself to those parts which seemed most exceptionable in it and productive of the most dangerous consequences. Whatever opinion Dissenters may have of the sermon, it is not doubted but all true members of the Church of England, and all sincere and candid lovers of Truth, will be very well pleased to see the truths of Religion vindicated from the aspersions of so dangerous an enemy."

It does not appear that the author of the sermon published any reply to the "detection," although it was rumoured that he was preparing one. It was, however, attacked in the newspaper called the *Edinburgh Courant*. Dr. Abernethy Drummond, a leading minister of the non juring party, whom it appears to have most offended, fought against it in this as well as in other newspapers of the time. The author of the "detection" failed not to meet the doughty champion, and it speaks well for the journalism of the time that it gave publicity to his remarks. It would seem that the authorship was not long kept a secret, for, it is on record that Dr. Abernethy Drummond conceived such an antipathy to the author, as in a few years later to raise against him and his fellow-Catholics a persecution, which, though of short duration, is spoken of as being no less violent than that which followed the disastrous expedition of Prince Charles.

CAP. XXII.

SCOTCH COLLEGE AT DOUAI—SCANDALOUS CONDUCT OF THE COLLEGE AUTHORITIES WHEN REMOVING TO DINANT—MR. GEDDES ON THE PIETY OF SPAIN—BISHOP HAY COMMENDS DR. BEATTIE'S ESSAY ON TRUTH AND REID ON THE HUMAN MIND—HE REPAIRS TO DOUAI—AT LONDON, ON HIS WAY, VISITS BISHOP CHALLONER—PLEADS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF THE DUCHESS OF PERTH, WHO HAD BEEN LEFT DESTITUTE BY STATE CONFISCATION—VISITS ALBAN BUTLER AT ST. OMERS—THE PRINCIPAL OF DOUAI COLLEGE PROCEEDED AS FAR AS LISLE TO MEET THE BISHOP--SOME CHANGES MADE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE—THE BISHOP AT PARIS SOUGHT TO OBTAIN A BENEFICE FOR THE SCOTCH MISSION—HIS FAILURE—HE PRAISES "PASTORINI"—PETITION THAT THE BISHOPS HAVE AUTHORITY OVER THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS, AS IN ENGLAND—MR. GEDDES' LIBERALITY TO THE MISSION—A BRIEF FROM THE HOLY SEE, GRANTING A PLENARY INDULGENCE TO THE CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND ON THE FESTIVAL OF S. S. PETER AND PAUL, ON THE USUAL CONDITIONS—BOOKS PURCHASED BY THE BISHOP IN FRANCE, DESTROYED ON HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND—SEVERE WEATHER AND DEARTH IN SCOTLAND, 1772—THE SAME YEAR MEETING OF THE BISHOPS—THEIR HIGH PRAISE OF BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD, WHO WAS UNABLE TO ATTEND.

Some account of the Scotch College of Douai in connection with the state of the Catholics of Scotland and the progress of the Scotch Mission will not now be out of place.

In the year 1576, Dr. James Cheyne, of Arnage, a Scotch secular priest, Pastor of Aboyne, and Canon of Tournay, Principal, also, of the University of Douai and Professor therein, founded a Seminary for Scotch secular clergy at Tournay. In this good work he employed the revenues of his canonry soon after the breaking up of the English and Scotch Colleges there, which took place in 1575. It was afterwards transferred to Port-a-Mousson in Lorraine. Dr. Cheyne's numerous avocations soon rendered it impossible for him to superintend the new seminary in person. Accordingly, in March, 1580, he entrusted the government of it to F. Edmund Hay, of Megginch, a Scotch Jesuit. It thus came under the management of the Scotch Fathers of the Society till F. G. Christie left it for the Scotch Mission in 1605, when it fell, for a time, into the possession of the Walloon Jesuits. The Scotch Fathers again obtained the government of it in 1632, and had it erected into a College by their Father General, and placed it under the superintendence of Father John Robb. After this it remained for the most part, in possession of the Scotch Fathers, although it was governed occasionally for short periods by the Walloon Fathers of the society. There were other benefactors of the institution besides Dr. Cheyne; among the rest the illustrious Mary, Queen of Scotland, who settled on it an annual pension of 1,200 francs, raised soon after to 400 gold crowns; and Pope Gregory XIII. The annuities bestowed by these eminent personages ended with their lives. The seminary was not, however, left destitute. Many Scotch Catholic emigrants became contributors. Mr. Wm. Meldrum, Precentor of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, devoted 87 florins to the endowment of four bursaries. Pont-a-Mousson was not favoured with a salubrious climate, and, in consequence, early in the year 1593 the Seminary was removed to Douai. This was done with the sanction of Pope Clement VIII. It was not only on account of the unhealthiness of the place, but, also, in consequence of the confusion of the wars, that the college was removed from Pont-a-Mousson, as appears from a letter* of Clement VIII. in favour of the institution. The college was for some time at Louvaine, and also at Antwerp, where a House was prepared for it. But it was not till after several migrations and various fortune, that it was finally established at Douai, at that time a Belgian town, in the year 1612, in a house obtained for it by the Walloon

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*A printed copy of this letter is preserved at Preshome.

Fathers. Philip III. of Spain was applied to for permission to purchase a site whereon to build a college. The desired permission was granted and, along with it, a donation towards the same object.

A few words may be now bestowed on the most liberal of all the benefactors of the College of Douai. This was no other than F. Hippolytus Curle, son of a well known historical character, Gilbert Curle, Secretary to Queen Mary Stewart. He had studied at Douai College, and at the end of his philosophical course in 1618 he entered the noviciate of the Society of Jesus. Before doing so, however, he disposed of all his temporal property by a testamentary deed, signed and sealed at Antwerp, Sept. 1, 1618. In this deed he declared his intention to join the Society; and after specifying certain donations to members of his own family and others, he directed that the whole residue of his property should be given to the Scotch College of Douai, subjoining conditions which he desired should be exactly observed. The conditions were, the education of as many students as possible, and if anything should remain over the expense of a certain number, but not sufficient for the maintenance of another, this remainder should be devoted to the support of the persons necessary for the management of the college, and to meet the expenses of ecclesiastics who should be sent to Scotland as secular priests to labour in the Scotch missions. It was also provided by Curle that there should always be a full number of good and suitable subjects. He also directed that the college should enjoy his endowment as long as it should be under the administration of the Society of Jesus, but that, if it should ever be put under other government by the resignation or removal of the Society's Fathers, the Father-General should be authorized to apply the whole of the endowment to the maintenance of the Scotch students who should be under the management of the Society. He desired, moreover, and earnestly requested that if the Father-General saw fit, there should always be one Scotch Jesuit in the college in which the said students were to reside. It was further stipulated that if the Catholic religion should ever be re-established in Scotland, the whole capital sum of Curle's endowment should be transferred to that country, at the discretion of the Father-General and the Scotch Fathers of the Society; and a college for the maintenance of as many Scotch ecclesiastical students as possible should then be founded in the University of St. Andrews. The execution of this provision was entrusted to the Scotch Fathers of the Society. The endowment was to be only for students of philosophy and theology. Curle finally appointed that the deed should take effect when in two years, the usual time of the noviciate, he should take the vows as a member of the Society. If he should die before that time, the deed should be executed in the month of July or December next following the date of his death.

In 1626, Curle, when a priest and religious of the Society of Jesus, made a second deed which gave more complete power to the Jesuits over the endowment. It could not, however, be valid, as the College had been for some time in possession of the Curle bequest on the conditions laid down in the first deed. In course of time, notwithstanding, the Jesuit Fathers came to consider the Scotch College at Douai was confiscated to the Crown as part of the Jesuits' goods. The French Government, when properly applied to, did not refuse to do an act of justice, and recognized the claims of the Scotch secular clergy to the property of their College at Douai. It was, accordingly, placed under the management of a Board of French civilians who allowed a certain number of Scotch ecclesiastical students to be maintained and educated in the college in charge of a Scotch president, whom they, indeed, appointed, but on the recommendation of the Scotch bishops,

It must now be told,—*horresco referens*—that the late professors of the College on retiring, with permission, to Dinant, in Namur, carried with them all the furniture of the house at Douai, and the richest ornaments of the church, including a precious shrine, in which the head of St. Margaret had been enclosed. The shrine was removed and *the Relique was left behind!*

Robert Grant, brother of the agent at Rome, was the first president. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the position, he continued to hold office for a considerable time. It ought to have been a cause for rejoicing to all religious people that the college, after having come through so severe an ordeal, was once more devoted, to the object for which it was founded. The pious Fathers from whom the property was taken when they originally possessed it, loudly complained, and freely abused the Scotch bishops for having made interest with the French Government to recover the College for their missions. Bishop Hay, in writing to the agent at Rome concerning matters that were to be laid before the Holy Father, and among the rest, the Society's attack on the Bishops, says: "What is mentioned both to His Holiness and Cardinal Castelli about reflections cast out by some here, upon the conduct of Bishops relating to Douai College, is owing entirely to the ungenerous behaviour of some of our friends of the Society. Notwithstanding all that we have endeavoured to do for their assistance, of late years, it would appear they can never digest the vexation it gave them to see that house put into our hands. The most of them, indeed, say but little on the subject; but some among them have put such odious constructions upon that affair among the people immediately under their charge, as to make the Bishops here appear guilty of the highest injustice to their order, and of having, by intriguing and underhand dealing, got that place turned over to themselves; and Bishop Grant this very summer, in visiting some of these people, was reproached to his very face for having done so. You will easily see, my dear sir, how unjust such dealing is; as you will know how far we were from intriguing in that affair, and how uprightly your worthy brother acted with regard to these gentlemen in it. You will also see how unjustifiable their conduct is, in showing a greater willingness to have that house lost entirely to the nation than to be put into our hands. How strange a blindness! How unaccountable a prejudice! You will likewise see how fatal a tendency their behaviour must have in prejudicing the minds of the people against their chief pastor and how just our request is to have our conduct vindicated by the authority of the Holy See, in order thereby to confound such as may still gainsay, and to put a stop to evils that might otherwise ensue...."

Mr. Robert Grant, the principal of the newly-restored college, is no less severe on the ungracious conduct of the pious society. In a letter to Bishop Hay of July 6th, 1772, he says :. . . . "I duly received your last with remarks on Curle's Testament, which are both just and solid ; and will pass for such with every unprejudiced person. If they (the Religious Fathers) have any monuments,—I mean originals,—clearer on their side, let them publish them. But, I am pretty sure they have not ; neither is it possible they should, without supposing F. Curle to talk nonsense in his said Testament. Nay, their having carried off all the other original papers regarding the foundation of this House, without leaving any authentic copies, is a strong presumption against them. It is more than necessary that these remarks should be published in order to undeceive those who look upon us as unjustly possessing what we have no title to. The common conversation among their debates is that we are sacrilegious robbers, etc. ; and how these good gentlemen can connive at such injurious aspersions, is astonishing beyond measure. . . . ." It *is* astonishing.

About this time it was proposed, Bishop Grant concurring, that Bishop Hay should visit Douai in order to make a personal examination of the affairs of the college. He found it necessary, however, in consequence of certain political occurrences, to postpone his journey. Meanwhile, he had the pleasure to receive very gratifying intelligence from the College of Valladolid. His friend there, the accomplished principal, wrote to him, under date Nov. 18, 1771, as follows:

......"Say everything that is kind to Mr. Craw (a gentleman already mentioned, remarkable for his piety.) I reverence that worthy gentleman as I would do a Father of the desert, and I have great confidence in his prayers. Tell him for me, and I know it will give him satisfaction, that however depraved the world is become, there still remains a great deal of true piety in Spain; and that, not only in the convents and monasteries, but, even in the palaces and judgment seats. There are some most excellent secular gentlemen in this same city; among the rest, the comptroller general of the Royal Revenues of Old Castile is just such a man as Mr. Craw, himself, or Dr. Gordon of Tullochallum...."

Dr. Gordon, here mentioned as an ornament of the Catholic Church along with Mr. Craw, was a brother of Bishop Gordon. He had taken part on the losing side in 1745, and so had to keep out of sight for some time. He owned a small property on Dee-side; but in his latter years lived retired in Auchendown, and died there at an advanced age, in 1763.

Bishop Hay could welcome a good book, although it came from a Protestant. Writing to Principal Geddes, he recommends highly Dr. Beattie's essay "on the immortality of Truth," and Reid's "Enquiry into the human mind." Both these works he considered likely to be useful.

At length the Bishop was able to undertake his contemplated journey to the College of Douai. On reaching London, he paid a visit to Bishop Challoner, whom he had not seen for twenty years, and who had new attained the advanced age of eighty. He gave his old friend, the Scotch Bishop, a most cordial reception, and availed himself of his visit to place in his hands what he had collected for the persecuted people of Uist, and at the same time a sum of money entrusted to him for Bishop Hay's own use. Next day he was favoured with a visit from Father Cruikshanks, S. J., who promised to give him all the information in his power concerning the affairs of his brethren as regarded the Scotch College at Douai. While in London, Bishop Hay made interest with the Government in order to obtain some pecuniary aid for the Duchess of Perth, whose husband's property had been all confiscated by the State. The march to Derby was still remembered; and it was made a pretext for denying all aid to the destitute lady that she had resumed without permission the title of Duchess. Before leaving London, the Bishop saw Lord Witherington, who promised to subscribe for the relief of the Uist people. On his way from London to Douai, the Bishop visited the celebrated Alban Butler at St. Omers, and met with a most kind reception. Mr. Robert Grant, the Principal of the Scotch College of Douai, went as far as Lisle to meet him and accompanied him to Douai. Having proposed some changes in the constitution of the college he proceeded to Paris, together with Principal Grant. His object in visiting that city was to obtain from the French Government a benefice in France for the benefit of the Scotch mission. This suit was supported by the Bishop of Arras throughout, and at first by several other influential personages. But, for want of sufficient honourable influence, the Bishop declining to employ such as was unbecoming, the scheme which he had so much at heart finally failed.

We shall now have Bishop Hay's opinion of a work that became famous—Pastorini's Letters. Writing to Principal Geddes at Valladolid, the Bishop says; "There is a very curious piece published in London, by B. Walmesley, whom you may remember at Rome, of the order of St. Benedict, and came there to be consecrated in our time. It is a general history of the Church by way of commentary on the Apocalypse. It is thought this work will be a greater stroke to the Protestants than either Cardinal Pole, or, "The Free examination." Several copies of this work were sent to Edinburgh by Bishop Hay's orders, for his friends in Scotland.

About this time authority over the Religious Orders was given to the Bishops in England. Bishop Hay was anxious that the like authority should be conferred on the Scotch Bishops. This measure had become necessary for the maintenance of discipline and the normal condition of the Church, Benedict the XIV., therefore, was earnestly petitioned through the Abbate Grant, to extend to Scotland the benefit of the decree with which he had favoured England. Bishop Hay, writing to the agent on the subject, says: "I assure you there are more than one of the society of whose conduct I have got complaints from his own hearers; and yet, for want of some such backing, Bishop Grant will not, and I dare not speak to them. I could give you some instances that would surprise you." The Bishop concludes his letter by desiring his thanks to the Italians for the handsome sum which they had contributed towards the relief of the Uist people.

The benevolent Principal of the College of Valladolid, sent at this time, to Edinburgh, in his own name and that of his two companions, £39.12, the result of their savings, for the benefit of the Scotch mission. Bishop Hay wrote from Paris to thank him, under date of March 17th, 1772: "In my own name and on the part of all our brethren, I return you and your companions hearty thanks for your supply; and I bless God Almighty, who, having given you the means, has given you the heart also to make so proper a use of it. * * Having sacrificed our persons to the service of religion in our poor country, how inconsistent would it be to refuse to part with the pelf of this world for the same end? For my own part, I thank God I have nothing so much at heart as the common cause, and shall think myself happy to sacrifice everything that is near and dear to me in this world; but, it is superfluous to mention this to you, who know me so well already." * * * Bishop Hay returned to Edinburgh after an absence of eleven weeks, in better health than he had enjoyed for many years. Being so blessed, he renewed his missionary labours with extraordinary vigour. This same year, a Brief was obtained from the Holy See, granting a plenary indulgence to the Catholics of Scotland, on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, to be gained any day within the octave, on performance of the usual conditions.

As illustrative of the narrow spirit which still reigned in England, it may be mentioned that books to the value of £10, which Bishop Hay had purchased at Paris, were seized on his arrival and *destroyed.* There is certainly a very close relation between bigotry and vandalism.

There was unusually severe weather in Scotland from the beginning of the year 1772. "Such frost and snow," says Bishop Hay, in a letter to Principal Geddes, "have not been seen in the memory of man—no, not even in 1740. This hard weather and the consequent dearth added considerably to the miseries of the poorer people. The Bishop states that, in addition, there was great sickness and mortality about Stobhall, in Glengarry and Strathspey.

This year the general meeting included all the Bishops, with the exception of Bishop Hugh McDonald, who was now so feeble from old age as to be unable to undertake a long journey. His colleagues in their annual letter to the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Castelli, of date July 18th, speak of the venerable Bishop in the following kindly terms: "Hugh of Diana, now worn out by old age, and the labours of forty years, during which he has discharged the duties of vicar apostolic, has failed in strength this year, so much as to be unable to be with us here; and it seems, indeed, hardly possible that his life can be protracted much longer. He is a man who has merited very highly of religion; and by his toils, his vigilance, his concern for the common cause; by his gentleness and the sweetness of his manners; and by his assiduity in the preservation of fraternal charity, in the administration of the mission affairs, he has always endeared himself to every one." . . . .

CAP. XXIII.

SICKNESS AND MR. AUSTIN M'DONALD—A SUBSIDY—TWO STUDENTS TO BE RECEIVED AT PROPAGANDA—MR. CAMERON IN STRATHAVON—BISHOP GRANT IN BETTER HEALTH—AT A VISITATION, SAYS MASS AT 3 O'CLOCK P.M.—GENERAL DISTRESS—STRAITS OF THE MISSION—BISHOP HAY'S SISTER BECOMES A CATHOLIC—CONVERSIONS FROM TIME TO TIME—DEATH OF BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—THE MISSION LOSES ITS TEN JESUITS BY THE GENERAL SUPPRESSION OF THE ORDER—BISHOP HAY ON USURY—FEW CLERGY AND GREAT LABOURS—MR. CRAW'S LIBERAL BEQUEST, 1775—BISHOP HAY ON MIRACLES—HIS CONTROVERSY WITH DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND—THE WORK ON MIRACLES HIGHLY PRAISED BY BISHOP CHALLONER AND OTHERS--CONVERSIONS--GREATER LIBERALITY OF EDINBURGH MAGISTRATES—SOME CHANGES.

About this time Bishop Hay, in a letter to Principal Geddes, communicated to him the thanks of the Bishops for the pecuniary aid given and promised by himself and his companions to the funds of the mission. In the same letter the Bishop mentioned the mortality which had lately prevailed in some parts of the country and spoke of a pious missionary priest, Mr. Austin Macdonald, who, on the dreaded sickness appearing in his locality, had exhorted his people to prayer and fasting, as a means of averting the threatened calamity, and had prescribed certain prayers to be said, and set apart two days for fasting. After that none of his people died but one, who had been very ill before. "He is a truly valuable missionary," adds the Bishop, "and minds nothing in this world—neither brothers nor sisters, nor any earthly affair—but his duties to his people only. I wish we had numbers such!"

The goodness of Cardinal Castelli made up in some measure for the failure of Bishop Hay's recent visit to Paris in order to obtain a benefice for the poor missions of Scotland. The Cardinal procured a subsidy for the missions, and in remitting it informed the bishops that two places in the Urban College of Propaganda had been assigned to Scotch students, between the ages of twelve and eighteen years.

We now hear for the first time of Mr. Cameron, afterwards so distinguished as a bishop. On returning from his studies, he was appointed to the mission of Strathavon on account of his knowledge of the Gaelic language. He soon acquired reputation as a preacher and was in great favour with Bishop Grant.

Bishop Grant was at this time in such good health as to be able to continue the visitation of the northern parts of his Vicariate. We learn on his authority, that he was very much edified with the willingness and earnestness of the good people in coming to be confirmed, some travelling six or seven, and one in particular, no less than sixteen miles. At one place it was full three o'clock in the afternoon before he was ready to commence the public duties of the day. Nevertheless, by a presumed permission from the Holy See, he even ventured, and without scruple, to celebrate Mass.

This year, 1772, the mission was poorly supplied with clergy, but not without hope for the future, there being numerous ecclesiastical students in the colleges abroad. There was great distress throughout the country in consequence of the frequent bankruptcies that were occurring. Money was not to be had at any rate; families of good standing were diminishing the number of their servants: trade of every kind was at a stand, and trades' people, consequently, parting with their workmen. Such a state of things greatly increased the number of poor, and worse than all, filled both countries, England as well as Scotland, with robbers. Bishop Hay complained, as Procurator, that the mission suffered at the same time in its funds, and the building of a new and better church at Aberdeen added to its difficulties. Such was the distress in the best agricultural districts, such as Strathbogie, Auchendown and the Enzie, that many families resolved on emigrating to America, as long as any means remained to them.

About the end of February, 1773, Bishop Grant and his coadjutor addressed a memorial to the agent at Rome, Abbate Grant, representing the great straits of the mission, and requesting, provided he could obtain the sanction of Cardinals Castelli and Albani, that he would endeavour to interest in its favour all who at Rome might be friendly or charitably disposed towards the mission. They took care to urge that the field for missionary effort was improving, as shewn by the building of a better church at Aberdeen, whilst this undertaking, together with the hardship of the time, increased their pecuniary needs.

There were conversions from time to time; among the rest, that of Miss Hay, the Bishop's sister, which took place at Auchentoul. Bishop Grant, congratulating the junior Bishop on this happy occurrence, expresses, at the same time, his wish that he would visit the North, spend a few weeks in Strathbogie and Cabrach, encourage the people by his presence and learn, at the same time, everything concerning their wants and condition. Complaints the chief Bishop had heard from Buchan rendered it desirable that his coadjutor should travel through that district.

The Lowland Bishops were now deeply affected on hearing of the death of the venerable Bishop Hugh Macdonald at Glengarry. The sad intelligence was communicated to them in a letter from his nephew, Bishop John MacDonald, dated March 18th, at Bourblach, on the west coast of Inverness-shire. The deceased Bishop was able to converse with the friends around him till within a few minutes of his death.

Bishop Hay at this time was oppressed with labour and anxiety. He ardently desired the assistance of his able friend, Mr. Geddes, the Principal at Valladolid, and had some correspondence with him on the subject. His cares were increased by the impending suppression of the Society of Jesus. The members of the Order, although only ten in number, formed a considerable and important portion of the diminished clergy of Scotland. The mission could ill afford to lose their services, which, hitherto, had been so efficient. The Scotch College at Rome was under their able direction. It could be so no longer. Abbate Grant, so long agent for the mission at Rome, offered himself for the rectorship, and was accepted by the Bishops. The college, meanwhile, was otherwise provided for by the authorities at Rome.

A discussion on usury having arisen, Bishop Hay took up his pen, and in seven masterly letters, successfully showed that usury must be condemned, whilst a reasonable rate of interest on loans is perfectly lawful. In trading nations, particularly, such as Great Britain, the practice of lending money at interest may be considered an almost essential element of commercial success. The seven letters were published in London by Mr. Coghlan, under the title: "*Letters on usury and interest; showing the advantage of Loans for the support of Trade and Commerce.*"

The Scotch College of Douai appears to have been, at this time, 1774, in a tolerably prosperous condition. There were within its walls, besides Mr. Robert Grant, the principal, and his assistant, twenty-two individuals. Three of these were ex-Jesuits, still young men. One of them was Mr. John Chisholm, afterwards Bishop of the Highland district, who went this year from Dinant to Douai, in order to prepare for serving on the Scotch Mission. Æneas Chisholm, John's brother, who also became a Bishop, was received a student at the Scotch College of Valladolid.

The missions were now suffering from want of sufficient spiritual superintendence. Age and infirmity had incapacitated so many of the clergy that only five or six priests in the Lowland district were fit for duty. Bishop Grant himself, now almost seventy years of age, was very infirm. In addition, notwithstanding, to his duties as Chief Bishop, he managed also to discharge those of a Parish Priest. Bishop Hay was younger, but of a weak constitution. He, nevertheless, did double duty, attending, as coadjutor Bishop, to the affairs of the whole mission and ministering to a numerous congregation.

The Bishops for some time experienced many of the difficulties that arise from the want of money. This unpleasant state of things was so far modified by the liberal bequest of Bishop Hay's wealthy and most pious friend, Mr. Craw, who passed, 1775, to the future life, at the advanced age of 91..

In June, 1775, Bishop Hay's famous Treatise on Miracles was placed in the printer's hands. This work originated in a controversy which arose between the author and a non juring Episcopalian minister who was afterwards known as the celebrated Bishop Abernethy Drummond. At the end of the second volume, there is an appendix on the subject of Transubstantiation. This shorter essay was occasioned by the following circumstances. A master baker and a master shoemaker thought of enquiring into the truth of the Catholic religion. They were both Episcopalians and members of Mr. Abernethy's congregation. For better information they sought the acquaintance of Bishop Hay, who gave them all necessary explanations. The minister was now had recourse to; and he promptly made out in writing answers to the Bishop's remarks. The point chiefly discussed was Transubstantiation. Mr. Abernethy wrote at great length on the Catholic Doctrine, urging the usual weak objections against it. The young man laid his writing before the Bishop, who made a suitable reply. This was not all. The non juring minister called on Bishop Hay and challenged him to publish in print all he had to say on the Catholic Doctrine, promising to prepare and publish a reply. This led to Bishop Hay's "Appendix," in which he explains the doctrine itself and exposes the weakness of Mr. Abernethy's arguments against it. This writing caused our enquirers to come to a decision. They left the non jurors, and became "sincere and promising converts to the Catholic Church." The Protestant pastor was enraged at this conclusion, and, very little to the credit of a professed minister of the gospel, threatened the good men with ruin and misery before the end of the year. He then turned to his theology, such as it was, and got ready his reply. The non-juring Bishop easily favoured it with his approval. Another friend of the author, who was more familiar with philosophical discussions, pronounced it indefensible. Accordingly, it was remodeled; but failed to be made unanswerable. In January, 1776, Bishop

Hay issued a suitable reply under the title "Explanatory Remarks, etc." There is a copy of this able paper at St. Mary's College, Blairs, 12mo. pp. 96. It was followed by an anonymous reply, which was so weak and devoid of anything like argument, containing only the usual oft-refuted stories, that the Bishop took no notice of it and allowed the controversy to drop.

The work on Miracles had a successful sale. Bishop Challoner showed his appreciation by ordering thirty copies. It was greatly valued in Spain, among the friends of Mr. Geddes, at Madrid and Valladolid. Several copies were sent to Rome, and an elegantly bound volume presented to the Pope. The evil days, so trying to the Catholics of Scotland, appeared to be now passing away; and conversions becoming more frequent. "We have the consolation," says Bishop Hay, writing to Mr. J. Geddes, January 3rd, 1776, "of several converts just now. Our loss is want of time to attend to them properly."

It has been remarked, and evidently by a well informed Catholic, that the "Scripture Doctrine of Miracles" must be regarded as Bishop Hay's greatest work. It may justly be said to exhaust the subject, with a depth and a closeness of reasoning, and a familiar acquaintance with the written Word of God unsurpassed by any other Catholic writer in the

English language. It may, perhaps, be permitted us to regret that the style is wanting in those attractive graces which recommend even abstruse subjects to the attention of ordinary readers, a want which Dr. Hay with singular modesty acknowledges in his preface. In consequence of this deficiency his work on Miracles has never attained the popularity of some of his other writings; its circulation for the most part, having been confined to the use of students in theology. All this notwithstanding new editions of the able work are, in our day, published from time to time.

Protestants, whilst acknowledging its consummate ability, pronounce it "*a dangerous* book in which (Scot's Mag.) truth is artfully mixed up with falsehood, and sophistry with argument." The same writer admits, however, that "the plan is happily conducted, the topics judiciously and artfully disposed, and the reasoning throughout invincible, specious and dangerous." (Scot's Mag., 1776.)

It may be mentioned here, as a circumstance indicating the improving spirit of the time, that the magistrates of Edinburgh afforded Bishop Hay every facility in attending two Irish soldiers who were sentenced to be executed for a street robbery in the city. These unfortunate men were very penitent and resigned to their fate.

The clergy of the mission were recruited occasionally from the colleges abroad. Thus we find the Rev. Mr. Gordon, who had been stationed at Aberdeen since his recent return from Rome, on being appointed to Rev. Allen McDonald's vacant Prefectship at Valladolid, was replaced by Rev. Mr. Oliver, a young missionary priest, who had studied at Douai. About the same time Rev. Robert Menzies returned from the college there, and entered on a course of unobtrusive usefulness at Edinburgh.

CAP. XXIV.

MORE FRIENDLY FEELING TOWARDS CATHOLICS—NEW ARRANGEMENT AT STOBHALL—HIGHLANDERS FLOCKING TO THE LOWLANDS—A BETTER CHURCH AND HOUSE AT EDINBURGH—BISHOP HAY'S THEOLOGICAL STUDIES—DISPENSATIONS—MR. CONSTABLE GIVES £100 TOWARDS THE NEW BUILDINGS—CONVERSIONS—POOR HEALTH OF BISHOP HAY—GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE—THE AGE IMPROVING CRUEL INJUSTICE OF THE PENAL LAWS—THE MISSION SUFFERS—THE KIRK LESS HOSTILE—SOME BIGOTS PROPOSE TO RESIST THE PASSING OF A RELIEF BILL—PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON ADVOCATES AN OPPOSITE VIEW—MAJORITY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN HIS FAVOUR, 118 TO 24.

Everything seemed to show that the age was improving and a more friendly feeling towards Catholics arising throughout the country. The titular "Duchess of Perth" having died at Stobhall in Perthsire, it was feared that the mission there, so long one of the most important in the country, must necessarily be abandoned. There was only one Catholic tenant on the estate in whose house a priest could have a suitable lodging. This man, despairing of the continuance of the mission, hastily threw up his lease on the death of the duchess, in order that he might establish his home near some Catholic station. Now came the advantage of living in the midst of the world, without being of the world, worldly. Such was the case as regarded our Bishop, who resembled in this respect the celebrated Bossuet, of whom it was truly said that he was a Bishop in the gay Court of France (*un Eveque au milieu de la cour*). Mingling in the higher world, while not neglecting the poorer and more humble, Bishop Hay had become acquainted with Lord Kames, who may surely here be mentioned, as one of the celebrities of the time. Lord Kames was one of the commissioners charged with the administration of the forfeited lands. Bishop Hay, therefore, applied to him for a renewal of the lease of the farm from which the tenant, John Cruikshanks, had retired, and that it should be renewed in the name of Cruikshanks. He acknowledged, at the same time, that his object was to secure the residence of a priest in the place. Both Lord and Lady Kames, particularly the latter, entered warmly into the scheme; and, through the friendly services of Mr. Colquohoun Grant, obtained the co-operation of Lord Gardenston, another commissioner. By the advice of these friendly parties the bishop drew up a petition in the name of the retired tenant, and presented it to the commission. The land steward, who had already granted a new lease, brought considerable county influence to bear against a Catholic being established in the place. This led to memorials and replies that were presented to the commissioners. At last, after a year's delay, Lord and Lady Kames, knowing how friendly the Government now were towards the Catholics, pleaded the cause more zealously with several of the principal commissioners, and thus secured a decision in favour of the Bishop. Not only was the old lease renewed in the Bishop's favour, in the name of the former tenant, but fifteen acres more, which had been under planting, were added to the farm in order to supply summer grass for the Bishop's horse. He was also supplied with a quantity of timber for putting the farm buildings in a suitable condition. A rather odd scene occurred at the board of commissioners when its final decision was intimated. It will be best told in Bishop Hay's own word's: "After the order was given to let us have the place, one of our friends added, 'they must also have plenty of wood to build a mass house,' upon which some of the others expressed surprise. To which one replied: 'They are better subjects than the Presbyterians;' and another said, 'as for the best religion, that will not be known till the day of judgment.' So orders were given to see what wood will be wanted, and let us have it. This, you will say, is a changed world. It is so, blessed be God for it, and may we be grateful for so great a mercy. It is true, indeed, it will cost me a great deal of money to get the place put into proper order, but I hope Providence will provide, and when all is to rights, it will be as comfortable a settlement as any we have." * * *

The war with the American colonies put an end to emigration; and hence the Highland proprietors were encouraged to renew their oppression of their poor tenants. This led to a change in the distribution of the Catholic population all over the country. There being no field for the distressed people in America (Canada with its boundless resources, was, at that time, a *terra incognita*) flocked in great numbers to the towns of the Lowlands, where they found employment as day labourers and street porters. The Catholic population of those towns was thus considerably increased. In Edinburgh alone, there was an increase of four hundred, as shown by a census of his congregation taken by Bishop Hay in February, 1777. Almost all the newly arrived strangers were ignorant of any language except their native Gaelic. They were, at once, however, provided with a pastor who was thoroughly acquainted with their language. This was the Rev. Robert Menzies, already mentioned as having recently returned from Douai College. This zealous young priest continued for a long time to exercise, with the greatest good will, his psstoral duties among the Gaelic speaking people. The increase of population required an increase of church accommodation. There was need, besides, of a change to more salubrious as well as more commodious premises. This the chief Bishop well understood; and he was only too glad to find that there was a prospect of being able to remove from the confined and unwholesome residence, which the coadjutor Bishop and clergy had been obliged so long to put up with. It was proposed, therefore, to sell the ancient dwelling, and so far meet the expense of purchasing or erecting a better building in a more healthy locality, A site near Leith Wynd was selected. It consisted of half an acre of ground which was enclosed by a solid wall. There was a ruinous house upon it which was not overlooked by any other houses. It was a free and airy place, and had access to the neighbouring street by three 'closes,' or lanes. It had been the residence of a Lord Edgefield, a judge of the highest court. The purchase money was £320, all charges included. It was estimated that the expense of demolishing the old building and erecting a new church and dwelling house would amount to £1,100. Considering the state of the mission funds, this was a heavy sum. The Bishops, however, were not discouraged. With the new building at Edinburgh and the arrangements at Stobhall, both at the same time, on their hands, they were obliged to have recourse to their friends at a distance. The English Catholics always so generous, could not with propriety be applied to, as they had recently been so liberal in relieving the persecuted Uist people. Bishop Hay, therefore, addressed only, on behalf of his brethren, his and their friends at Valladolid, Rome, France, etc., and not without success, it would appear; for the works in hand were proceeded with. The Abbot of the Scotch Monastery at Ratisbon, alone, declined to interest his friends in favour of the mission work, and contented himself with sending to the Bishops a personal subscription of £10.

In the midst of his overwhelming missionary labours as well as other occupations and correspondence forced upon him by the necessity he felt himself under of ministering to the comfort and encouragement of many parties who looked to him for advice and support in their difficulties and mental distress, Bishop Hay was not unmindful of the studies proper to his state. We find him, at this time, applying to

Abbate Grant for several theological works, the Functions of a Bishop, a book on Canon Law, etc. He had just finished reading Benedict XIV.'s Treatise on Diocesan Synods (*de Synodo Diocesana*). The works for which he now applied are recommended in that treatise. He enquired also for some standard work on Episcopal Visitations, especially on their practical part. "Alas! my dear sir," he says with great modesty; writing to the agent, "I always felt myself lame and unfit for the weighty charge laid upon me: but, never did I see that more than when perusing the Diocesan Synod. Much need have I of a store of standard books for study on these subjects and of a little more time to peruse them."

Meanwhile the good agent was not idle as regarded the Mission for which he acted. Dispensation from hearing Mass and abstaining from servile work on certain holidays, had been granted to the Catholics of England. Abbate Grant obtained from the Holy See a like indulgence for Scotland. The twofold obligation was declared binding only on all Sundays in the year, on Easter Monday and Pentecost Monday; on the festivals of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension and Corpus Christi; on the Annunciation and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; on the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul, of All

Saints and of the patron of the place where that festival was observed. The fast enjoined on the vigils of certain festivals was transferred to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent. Power was also granted to dispense further with the obligation on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul if it fall in the hay harvest, and of the Assumption in the corn harvest.

A master builder had undertaken to complete the house and church at Edinburgh. By the month of May, 1778, the work was well advanced. The weather was favourable for such operations, and everything promised well, even the funds, although they arrived but slowly. Mr. Constable, on occasion of a visit to Edinburgh, contributed £100, and such was his interest in the work that while finding the proportions of the church too limited he expressed complete satisfaction with the rest of the building. The church was to be only 34 feet long, 29 broad and 14 feet high. This work, together with the operations at Stobhall and the increase of the number of Catholics in the Lowlands, aroused the attention and, in some degree, the jealousy of Protestants. There even arose some opposition to the building at Edinburgh. The Bishop, however, anticipating hostility, had taken care to secure the approbation of two leading members of Government, who were, indeed, powerful friends. Notwithstanding, he was not without anxiety, and, as he declared, placed his hope "in Him whose work it was." There was abundance of consolation, meanwhile, in the number of converts he was instructing and receiving into the Church.

Bishop Hay was in poor health, suffering much from indigestion. Nevertheless, in addition to his episcopal labours, he attended assiduously to parochial duties and the no less arduous cares of the Procuratorship. Bishop Grant advised him strongly against his early rising and constant application, but did not manage, no doubt owing to the scarcity of clergy, to send an experienced priest to assist him.

Since the unfortunate affair of 1745, time had wrought a wonderful change in the sentiments of the Scotch people. The Jacobite insurrection and its sad results had generated the most rancorous feelings in the minds of the victorious party. It appeared at one time impossible that they could ever be sufficiently revenged for the defeats and humiliation inflicted on them by those whom they finally overcame. As the hopes of the vanquished side became daily less and less, and were finally extinguished, the supporters of the lost cause, who were never unpatriotic, began to show that they could devote their services to their country's welfare, although not under such auspices as would have been most pleasing to them. Many even who had been zealous adherents of the exiled house, became loyal to the existing government, and by their able services in the common cause of the country commanded the esteem and good will of their fellow-countrymen as well as of the rulers of the land. Meanwhile, through the various relations of private life, friendships came to be established, and good feeling generally to prevail. Add to this the progress of the age which began to look with horror on the barbarities of by-gone times, and to feel ashamed of the cruelties which were not yet so remote as not to belong to their own. Hence it may be said that now, and it was time after a lapse of nearly forty years, that the general desire was for peace and reconciliation. The odious penal laws, however, still existed, and although seldom enforced, could be so at any moment; and it must be admitted that whether acted on or not, they were as degrading to those against whom they were aimed, as disgraceful to those by whom they were enacted. These laws were of such a nature as that sometimes the temptation to use them was almost irresistible. Thus, not longer ago than 1777, a Catholic gentleman of Scotland died. His son, who was married and had two children, thought to obtain possession of the paternal estate on performing the usual legal formalities. He was resisted by a distant relative, who claimed as the nearest Protestant heir, carried his case into the Court of Session, and insisted that the other party should renounce Popery in order to acquire a legal qualification to succeed his father. It was pleaded on the other side, that the statute gave such succession only to the nearest Protestant heir. This plea was overruled, and the unfortunate young man was, as Bishop Hay relates, "reduced to the dreadful necessity of openly perjuring himself in the face of the world, or of losing an estate of £1,000 a year, as well as of seeing his wife and two infant children reduced to beggary, as he had not a single farthing to depend upon besides the estate, nor any means of acquiring a subsistence."

In 1768, a case occurred in which the mission was the losing party. A gentleman of landed property had borrowed from the capital fund of the Scotch mission a considerable sum of money, for which the administrators of that fund held a mortgage, or heritable security over his estate. The gentleman failed; and when the managers advanced their claim, it was opposed by the other creditors on the ground that such a security could not be legally vested in a Catholic clergyman. The opinion of four eminent lawyers was taken; and it was in favour of the Catholic claim. Nevertheless, it was thought better, in order to avoid publicity and the dangers arising from it, to waive legal proceedings and settle the matter in private. This was done at a sacrifice of nearly £300, a heavy loss to the mission at that time of day.

It must be admitted that the ministers of the Kirk had become less hostile than in the earlier days. Only in remote districts did extreme bigotry still prevail. A respectable tenant of Lord Fortrose, at whose house the missionary priest had his lodging when he went to visit his scattered flock in Rosshire, became an object of their virulent attacks. Marriage with Protestants and conversions to the Catholic faith had excited the ill-will of the Presbytery against this good farmer. They not only made vigourous efforts to turn him out of his farm, but frequently, also, lodged complaints against him with the law officers of the Crown in Edinburgh. This would have resulted in a criminal prosecution, which was averted only by the timely interposition of Bishop Hay.

A little later, when the partial repeal of the penal laws was in progress, there arose a serious debate in the general assembly, the result of which shows the ministers in a more favourable light. An over zealous member requested the Lord Advocate to give the assembly some account of the bill that was then passing through Parliament in favour of the Roman Catholics. His Lordship complied with the request, but, at the same time, maintained that the object of the bill was only to repeal a penal law which, from the beginning, had been considered so cruel as to have been seldom executed. The bill did not extend to Scotland; but he had no doubt that in some future session of Parliament a similar bill would be passed for that country. This information roused the bigoted party in the assembly; and, next day, Dr. Gillies, a minister at Glasgow, moved that, as such a bill for the relief of the Catholics of England had lately passed the House of Commons, the commission (the permanent committee of the assembly) be instructed to watch its future progress; and especially if it should be extended to Scotland; and even, if necessary, to call an extraordinary meeting of the commission to consider the subject. The motion was seconded by the same minister's son, who was minister of Greenock. There was now a very long debate. Principal Robertson, so celebrated as a man of letters and a historian, who led the moderate party in the assembly, denied that the bill in question threatened the Protestant religion with any danger; he could see no signs of alarm in the country on the subject. He then entered at length into the history of the penal law, now the subject of repeal, showing that it was a cruel and sanguinary law which nothing but the critical circumstances of the period when it was first enacted, could ever justify. He proposed to reject the motion. Other eminent speakers followed on the side of the principal, Mr. Solicitor-General Murray, especially, who spoke for two hours in favour of the bill in an able and masterly manner. On a division, the motion of Dr. Gillies was rejected by a majority of 118 to 24.

CAP. XXV.

PERSECUTION OF SOLDIERS BY SOME HARD-HEARTED AND IGNORANT MINISTERS—PROTECTED BY THE LORD JUSTICE CLERK AND THE LORD ADVOCATE—SOLDIERS ALLOWED TO OMIT THE OBJECTIONABLE CLAUSE IN THE ATTESTATION OATH—ARMY MEN SEEK A REPEAL OF THE ODIOUS LAWS—GENERALS BOURGOYNE AND CONWAY—THE WAR WITH AMERICA AND AN IMPENDING WAR WITH FRANCE FAVOUR THEIR VIEWS—SIR. JOHN DALRYMPLE—LOYALTY OF CATHOLICS—IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS—ADDRESSES OF CATHOLICS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED BY GEORGE III.—A RELIEF MEASURE BEFORE PARLIAMENT—SUPPORTED BY THE OPPOSITION—THE DISSENTING PROTESTANTS GIVE THEIR AID.

At this time the loyalty of Catholic soldiers and their bravery in the field was nothing new to the British public. These great qualities, however, met with but little consideration on the part of the more dark and bigoted portion of the Presbyterian world. Two Highland battalions of British troops, composed in great part of Catholics, both officers and privates, had served in the war which led to the cession of

Canada to Great Britain. On leaving the service, these brave veterans were allowed a pension, sufficient for their comfortable maintenance. They retired to their mountain homes; and generally their being Catholics was not considered as an objection to the regular payment of their pensions. In some of the remoter parts of the Highlands, however, the ministers raised such an objection, and threatened those brave men, who had risked their lives in fighting the battles of their country with the loss of their pensions unless they would abstain from any public profession of their Faith. As many of those men were entirely dependent on what the Government allowed them, the threat of the ministers implied a total privation of their livelihood. It does not appear that such a threat was, or could have been carried into execution, in defiance of the general opinion which prevailed. In fact, the Lord Justice Clerk (the chief judge in Scotland) and the Lord Advocate pledged their word in answer to Bishop Hay's appeal, that, although they could give no public assurance in favour of the pensioners, no complaint as to religion, made against them, should be listened to by the law officers of the Crown. This, we may conclude, was a sufficient check to the charitable ministers, and the retired soldiers were directed to ask, as usual, without fear, the payment of their pensions.

It had been the custom to administer to recruits the attestation oath, in other words, that they should swear that they were Protestants. This custom must have been highly injurious to the military service. Bishop Hay publicly advised all Catholics who wished to enlist, to declare openly when they were called upon to make the attestation, that they were Catholics, and would never take the oath in its existing form. They followed the Bishop's directions, were applauded for their honesty, allowed to omit the objectionable clause and swear only to be obedient and faithful. This reform greatly facilitated recruiting. Many Catholics were added to the ranks of the army as privates, and young gentlemen, notwithstanding their religious profession, obtained commissions.

Lord Stanhope, a minister of the Crown, and a leading member of the Government, endeavoured in 1718 to obtain some mitigation of the penal laws in favour of Catholics. He was supported by the Government of the time, and had many friends in Parliament. He, nevertheless, utterly failed. The age of greater light and a more tolerant mind had not yet dawned. It had made but small progress when our army men, in 1770, took up the gauntlet in favour of their Catholic fellow-citizens. They knew the value of the Catholic soldier; and they would have him a free man, and not a Pariah or Helot crushed to a state worse than servitude, by cruel and degrading penal laws. A motion made in the House of Commons, 11th Dec., 1770, by General Bourgoyne, and seconded by General Conway, had in view to provide soldiers for the British army at the beginning of the American war. To this end it was proposed to relax the penal statutes which prevented Catholics from serving under the British flag, unless they did violence to their conscience. General Bourgoyne addressed the Commons with great freedom. During the late war he had the honour to command 500 Roman Catholics. It was true that they had come to him as Protestants; but, it was also very well known that the poor fellows went when they were able, to their own place of worship; and, as they went out of uniform, he had not opposed it. He declared that they were as brave soldiers as any in the British army; and that foreign nations were astonished that so many fine soldiers should be forced into foreign service by the imposition of oaths at home, which they could not take without violating Truth and Religion. The eloquence of the noble General was lost on the House of Commons of 1770. In the short period of eight years there was a change. Shall it be said a change of opinion? The sentiments of a nation do not change so rapidly. But, wars and rumours of wars, more eloquent than the words of orators, more powerful than "the still small voice of reason," sometimes oblige them to change their policy. It cannot be alleged that the statesmen who composed the Government of Lord North were unfriendly to toleration and a mitigation of the penal laws. But the war with America and an impending war with France, no doubt quickened their zeal in endeavouring to pass through Parliament some form of bill that would considerably lessen the odious laws. It behoved them to move with caution, for they knew not, as yet, what the sentiments of the Opposition were ; and, accordingly, they wisely resolved to refrain from bringing the subject before Parliament until they had made all possible enquiry and preparation. They looked first to Scotland, and sent thither a confidential agent, Sir John Dalrymple, a Scotch Baron of Exchequer. This gentleman was already known as friendly to Catholics, having originated a plan for raising Catholic soldiers in Ireland and having nearly succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the forfeited estates to the families of their original proprietors, when his laudable endeavours were interrupted by the state of affairs in America. Sir John was not without friends in Scotland. Among these was Lord Linton, the son and heir of the Earl of Traquair, a Scotch

Peer; and, in order to be introduced to Bishop Hay, he had recourse to the good services of the Rev. Alexander Gordon, newly appointed principal of the Scotch College of Paris, with whom he had formerly been intimate at the French capital. Sir John now proceeded to business, visited Bishop Hay, and desired to learn from him the sentiments of the Scotch Catholics on the three following points: 1st. How they were generally disposed to regard the war with America? 2nd. What grounds there were to expect that they would enter freely into His Majesty's service if invited? 3rd. What ameliorations in their social condition they would look for as an equivalent for their services? To these queries the Bishop gave distinct answers in writing, under date of 16th February, 1778. He assured the Government agent of the loyalty of the Catholic people, and that, although they were incapacitated by law for serving their country, either as military men or as civilians, their honest endeavour was directed to the discharge of their private duties to their country as good citizens. With regard to the question of the war with America, the Bishop took it upon himself to say that the conduct of the Americans was generally disapproved of by the Scotch Catholics of his acquaintance. As a proof of this, as well as of the readiness with which Catholics would enter into His Majesty's service, he reminded Sir John that nearly all the emigrants who had left the Highlands for America, a few years before, were now wearing His Majesty's uniform. He also referred to the great number of Catholics who had enlisted in spite of every discouragement, during the last war, and to the popularity of the recruiting sergeant in Catholic districts of the country at the present time. The Bishop added, and at some length, that he considered it undoubted that if the whole penal code were repealed and Catholics restored to all the rights and privileges of their fellow subjects, Catholics would become entirely attached to His Majesty's person and Government, and that the more favoured they were in this way, the more cordial would be their service, but this was more than could be hoped for in the present state of matters. In the meantime, his object could be attained by the removal of the chief impediments to a cordial service of His Majesty. First, a repeal of the sanguinary laws against all hearers and sayers of Mass. As long as it is death or banishment to attend the Catholic worship, it cannot be supposed that Catholics would cheerfully serve, or consider themselves as looked upon in a friendly light by Government. Secondly, a repeal of those statutes which enable the Protestant seller of an estate to take it back again from the Catholic purchaser without allowing to the latter action for the restitution of the price, and of those which enable the nearest Protestant heir to take the estate from the rightful Catholic proprietor. Thirdly, that that part of the attestation oath which regards religion be done away with, and those who enter the service be required only to swear fidelity to the King and obedience to the laws of war.

Lord Linton's opinion, which Sir John had taken separately, agreed in every point with that of Bishop Hay. The agent was now ready for further negotiations with the Ministry. Accordingly, he saw Premier Lord North, Lord George Germain and Lord Suffolk. These gentlemen were highly pleased with the opinions which he laid before them. Bishop Hay had suggested to Sir John the importance of obtaining the co-operation of the English Catholic body in their negotiations. He wrote, accordingly, to Edinburgh for letters of introduction to Bishop Challoner and other leading Catholics of England. Bishop Hay, in reply, immediately forwarded to the agent a letter for his venerable friend, Bishop Challoner, and another to the coadjutor, Bishop Talbot. More he declined to do, lest he should appear too assuming in the matter, considering that it would be better if in Scotland they seemed to follow rather than to lead. He knew also that the two Bishops for whom he gave introductions had great influence with all their friends in England, and the persons best qualified to give advice as regards the important business in hand. Bishop Challoner did not enter with much warmth or courage into the plan of a partial repeal of the penal code. But he assured Sir John Dalrymple of the loyal sentiments of the Catholics of England in the present crisis. The aged Bishop had suffered so long from the oppression of the odious laws that he could not be reconciled to the idea of the Catholics acting in the open and public way now proposed to them. He dreaded lest by coming forward in support of the Government, they should give offence to the Opposition and perhaps occasion a renewal of persecution. Through the timidity incident to his great age, he started many difficulties. An eminent Catholic lawyer, Mr. Duane, gave the agent a similar reception. Sir John, however, was not to be discouraged. He waited on the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Petre and many other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen in London. He induced them to hold several meetings for the discussion of the subject. They came at last to the conclusion, with the concurrence of the Ministry, that a loyal address should be presented to the King in the name of the English and Scotch Catholics. His Majesty would receive it graciously and reply in the most encouraging terms. Soon after they would jointly present a petition, praying for a mitigation of the penal laws. This petition would be referred to Parliament and supported by all the influence of the Court. Thus, by avoiding to introduce the subject merely as a Government measure, unsustained by the voice of the Catholics themselves, it was hoped that it would meet with less opposition. About the same time, also, the Irish Catholics presented a loyal address, so that nothing was wanting to show what sentiments prevailed.

The Catholic nobility and gentry of England were now invited by circular letters to come up to town and sign the proposed address, or authorize it to be signed for them by proxy. At the request of Sir John Dalrymple, Lord Linton, in the absence of the Earl of Traquair, who was resident with his daughters in France, represented the Scotch Catholics. He was willingly accompanied, as he desired, by Bishop Hay. As soon as they arrived, Lord Linton attended a meeting of the Catholic body, at which the address was adopted and signed, personally, or by proxy, by ten peers and nearly two hundred commoners who were gentlemen of family and property in England. Lord Linton and Mr. George Maxwell, of Kirkconnel, signed for the Scotch Catholics. The address expressed the attachment of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to his person and Government, notwithstanding the disabilities under which they laboured. The address disclaimed, moreover, all sympathy with the designs of any foreign power against the Crown, and the safety and tranquility of His Majesty's subjects. It appeals for proof of these sentiments to the irreproachable conduct of the Roman Catholics for many years past "under circumstances of public discountenance and displeasure." Lord Arundel and Surrey, Lord Linton and Lord Petre presented the address at a public levee. It was graciously received, as His Majesty had promised it would be, and afforded him much gratification. The Irish Catholics presented a like address, dated Dublin, April 13th, and signed by three hundred persons.

As the Penal Laws were not the same in the three kingdoms, the Ministry desired that the Catholic representatives should prepare for them a note showing what their constituents wished to be done for them by Parliament. It was also signified that if their first demands were moderate, everything that they possibly could desire, the Nation approving, would be done for them in course of time.

There was still great anxiety as to the light in which the Opposition in the House of Commons might view the measure. If it were presented merely as a scheme of the Ministry, it might, on that account, fail. Several circumstances, however, concurred to dispel all doubt on this head, and made it apparent that the members of the Opposition were the warmest supporters of the measure. Many of them were connected with Ireland by property and family, and from a humane feeling towards their fellow-countrymen, they were anxious that the Irish should be relieved of their social and political grievances. Of this liberality, however, Great Britain must set the example. The name of the celebrated Edmund Burke, at that time leader of the Opposition, was a sufficient guarantee for the sincerity and humanity of their motives. And now comes State policy which concurred with so many other causes to secure unanimous support for the Catholic Relief Bill. The American Congress had invited all Catholics to emigrate to the West, promising them entire liberty of conscience. There was also, throughout the land, the salutary fear of a French invasion. This added not a little to the pressure of the American war; and hence it became highly important that all parties in the State should unite against the common enemy. The dissenting Protestants of England, at the same time, lent their aid. They needed a little more religious liberty than the jealous State church and its supporters had hitherto allowed them. They were inclined, therefore, to favour the Catholic movement, considering it a step towards their own complete emancipation. They no doubt also had a view to securing the support which the Catholics, from gratitude, in return for their timely aid, would be disposed to bestow, when the dissenting bodies came to claim an extension of their liberties.

CAP. XXVI.

SEPARATE BILLS—LEAVE TO INTRODUCE THE ENGLISH BILL UNANIMOUS—THE SAME EXTENDED TO THE BILL FOR SCOTLAND WHICH COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED TILL FOLLOWING SESSION—ENGLISH BILL PASSES WITHOUT A DIVISION—ROYAL ASSENT, JUNE 3RD, 1778—PRAYER FOR THE KING IN ALL THE CHURCHES—BISHOP HAY WITH BISHOP CHALLONER—CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND CHEERED BY PROSPECT OF RELIEF—NEWS CONVEYED TO PROPAGANDA BY THE BISHOPS AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING—BISHOP HAY'S OPINION OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—PASTORAL LETTER—BIGOTRY OF SOME PRESBYTERIAN SYNODS—OTHERS, LIKE PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON, MORE LIBERAL—DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, BISHOP HAY'S "DETECTION"—VIOLENT WRITING AGAINST RELIEF BILL.

Notwithstanding the cordial regard and co-operation Lord Linton and Sir John Dalrymple had met with in England, there arose some difference between the Scotch and English representatives, which led to there being separate bills for the two countries. That the objectionable laws were enacted by different Parliaments, an English and a Scotch Parliament, was made the pretext. It was a frivolous one, however; and, it is supposed, was merely used by the English committee as an excuse for getting rid of the Scotch Bill. Lord Linton immediately saw the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, who willingly undertook to introduce a Bill of Relief for his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He observed, however, that it would be better to watch the progress of the English Relief Bill, before taking any steps, and see how it succeeded. If there should not be time in the Parliament that was then sitting, he pledged his word to obtain for the Scotch Catholics, in the next session, all that their English brethren should obtain in the existing one.

It was managed so as to have the English Bill presented to the House of Commons by two leading members of the Opposition, Sir George Saville and Mr. Dunning. Their addresses on the occasion must have been highly gratifying to the Catholics, as well as that of Attorney-General Thurlow, who also spoke in support of the measure. Leave was given to introduce the Bill without a dissentient voice. The Lord Advocate then, observing how the House was disposed, rose and asked leave to bring in a similar Bill for Scotland. This was granted with the same unanimity. It was found, however, to be too late in the session to introduce the Bill; but the Lord

Advocate renewed his pledge to Lord Linton that the provisions of the English Bill should be extended to Scotland during the next sitting of Parliament.

The English Relief Bill, meanwhile, passed through both Houses without a division. It was read a first time on May 15th, and received the Royal Assent June 3rd, 1778. Its terms were, in substance, the same as already pointed out. The only condition for enjoying the benefit of it was declared to be the taking and subscribing in a Register the new Oath of Allegiance appended to the Bill. The English Catholics readily came forward to swear and subscribe as required. The day after the Bill passed, a form of prayer was promulgated in all the Catholic Churches and chapels in England for "our most Gracious Sovereign King George III., his Royal Consort and all the Royal Family."

It was a source of happiness for Bishop Hay, during his sojourn in London, to be often with his venerable friend, Bishop Challoner, now in his eighty-seventh year, but who, notwithstanding his great age, enjoyed excellent health. The Scotch Bishop, as usual, a man of the world, although not wordly-minded, went a good deal into society, paying and receiving many visits, sometimes on business, and sometimes for acquaintance sake.

Returning to Edinburgh with Lord Linton, he gave the Scotch Catholics great comfort by informing them that there was, at length, a pretty sure prospect of obtaining relief from the worst and most trying of the penal laws. He advised them, meanwhile, to conduct themselves with becoming moderation on the auspicious occasion, which, indeed, they were in the habit of doing, and together with him, express their gratitude to the Almighty for the happy turn events had taken. In one of his letters to Bishop Grant, he shows his appreciation of the recent good fortune, and at the same time, his astonishment, calling the Relief Bill "an amazing affair."

The time for the annual meeting of the Scotch Bishops had come, and Bishop Hay repaired to Scalan, where he spent the greater part of July. He was greatly renewed after his labours and busy life in London, by the unbroken repose and invigorating breezes of that lonely glen. He regretted to find that the health of his brother Bishops had greatly failed. He said with grief, that he could not hope to enjoy much longer his intercourse with the senior Bishop, and Bishop Macdonald of the Highland district, although not aged, was in very delicate health. The chief business of the Bishop at this meeting was the pleasing duty of informing the Cardinals of Propaganda of the success of the English Relief Bill, and the expectation they had in Scotland of being similarly benefited in a few months. The constitution of the administrators of the mission temporalities had been revised, and the Bishops, in conjunction with them, addressed a letter to the clergy, advising them of the change. Bishop Hay availed himself of his leisure at Scalan to overtake his foreign correspondence. In one of his letters he says regarding the new oath prescribed to the English Catholics: "There is nothing in it against conscience, although it is conceived in very indelicate and harsh terms." Bishop Grant and his coadjutor, before the close of the meeting, addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy of the Lowland district, congratulating them on the relief that was so soon expected for Scotland in regard to the Penal laws. They recommended also that the clergy should inculcate among their people respect and obedience to the laws; gratitude and attachment to His Majesty's person and Government, as well as moderation and propriety in their relations with persons of other denominations. Although banns before marriage had been, for some time, without hindrance, proclaimed at Edinburgh, the custom had not yet been established throughout the country. The Bishops in their pastoral letter enjoined the publication of banns in all the missions, the state of affairs being no longer unfavourable to such practice.

The idea of a Bill for the mitigation of the Penal Laws in Scotland excited in an extraordinary degree the anger of the Presbyterian party. No fewer than nine Presbyterian synods throughout the country passed resolutions to the effect that the proposed measure must be opposed to the utmost. Not even the powerful influence of the liberal Principal Robertson could prevent the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, which sits at Edinburgh, from passing a resolution in accordance with the general clamour. He could only obtain that it should be more moderately worded. It alludes to the fears entertained by many that the English Relief Bill would inflict serious injury on the Protestant interests of Great Britain; it was at the same time, the conviction of many others that the ultimate effect of that Bill would be no more than the removal of a few severe penalties and disabilities from inoffensive Catholics. "Amid these various sentiments," the Synod adds, "while they declare their firm adherence to the principles of liberty and the right of private judgment, that they have no intention to interfere with the Legislature in matters of civil right, and do, by no means, wish that any person should be deprived of his inheritance, or subjected to civil penalties for conscience sake. They, at the same time, express their hopes that if such repeal shall be extended to this part of the

United Kingdom, the wisdom and attention of the Legislature will make effectual provision, under proper sanctions, to prevent all the dangers that are apprehended from that repeal."

The Synod of Aberdeen was even more liberal. The influence of Principal Campbel was exerted there; and that synodal body enjoyed the enviable distinction of being one of five synods which pronounced no opinion whatever in the controversy.

Personal ill-will came to aggravate matters. The non-juring minister, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, could not forget what they called the desertion of the Jacobite cause by Bishop Hay and the Catholics generally. He remembered, also, the severe castigation inflicted on him by the Bishop on occasion of the controversy on Miracles.

Bishop Hay's pamphlet, "Detection," in reply to Principal Campbel, was the alleged cause of complaint and provocation. The learned Prelate had accused the Principal of "diabolical calumny and damnable detraction," in having asserted that "from the rescripts of Popes, the opinions of approved divines and even the practice of converts, it were easy to prove that it is not contrary to the will of Heaven to lie, betray or even murder when the supposed interest of the Church requires it." Bishop Hay had challenged his opponent to produce any one approved divine of the Catholic communion that holds, approves, or even insinuates such a doctrine. It was now seven years since his challenge was published; but, it was not till August of this year that Dr. A. Drummond took up the challenge on behalf of Dr. Campbel's charge. He wrote to Bishop Hay inviting him to an interview in the advocates' library in presence of three or four learned men to be chosen by both sides, for the purpose of "enquiring, by looking at a few printed books," whether the assertion of Dr. Campbel could be proved or not. The Bishop being at the time engaged in removing to his new house, requested delay which was readily agreed to. Soon after, however, the non-juror, losing patience, twice over renewed his application for a discussion. As a contest of the kind would have required considerable preparation for which the Bishop had not time, he requested Dr. Drummond to furnish him with the names of the authors whom he intended to quote, and with references to the places in their works by which he designed to prove his assertions. This request was followed by a long letter from Dr. Drummond, in which was a short abstract of his proofs. From this it appeared to Bishop Hay that such a controversy was not advisable. Before he could come to any conclusion, there was a second letter from Drummond, in which he added new proofs to those already advanced, and sketching his proposed line of *argument* (as he called it), he stated that the Bishop would shortly see the whole printed in the form of a letter addressed to Bishop Hay, and published by the Presbyterian Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge. This showed a change of tactics on the part of the non-juror. He now desired, not a private discussion, but a public debate. The Bishop, therefore, declined to meet him and awaited the appearance of the printed letter. This alliance of Prelacy with Presbyterianism was something new and unexpected. Anything, however, to inflict a wound on the Catholic religion. This was not difficult, considering the clamour that prevailed, and of which the non-juring minister scrupled not to avail himself, both from political rancour and private spite.

Drummond's pamphlet soon appeared. Its title was: "The lawfulness of breaking faith with heretics proved to be an established doctrine of the Church of Rome; in a letter to Mr. G. H., by W. A. D." This was a brand thrown into the already burning mass. A non-juror must have reason, argued the Presbyterians, when he attacks a Catholic. The author, moreover, perverting the private correspondence that had taken place, laboured to make it appear that the Bishop had declined the proposed discussion from a consciousness of the weakness of his cause.

So violent an attack must be repelled; and the able Bishop did repel it, and with his usual vigour. His reply bore the following title:—"An answer to W. A. D.'s letter to G. H.; in which the conduct of the Government, in mitigating the penal laws against Papists, is justified; the seditious tendency of W. A. D.'s letter is discovered; the Roman Catholics fully vindicated from the slanderous accusation of thinking it lawful to break faith with heretics, which W. A. D. endeavours to fix upon them; and W. A. D.'s letter proved to be a gross imposition on the public, composed of misrepresentations and false reasonings from beginning to end." The answer ably defends the Relief Bill; discusses the authorities cited in the non-juror's pamphlet, and shows their true meaning; and, finally proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that "the Catholic Church holds it impious and unlawful to break faith with any person whatsoever, or on any account." The answer concludes by deprecating the bitter spirit which appeared to animate Dr. Drummond against the Catholics.

The non-juring minister produced another pamphlet. It mattered not to him that his statements were overthrown. Although his reasoning was so weak that no man of learning or any information, could, for a moment, entertain it, he persisted in his malicious course. He wrote for the populace, and, unfortunately, he had its ear. In his second letter, Dr. W. A. D. pretends to refute the objections to his first epistle, so clearly set forth by Bishop Hay. In attempting to do so, however, he only drew down on himself a castigation under which even the Reverend Dr. Abernethy Drummond must have felt somewhat sore. "So particularly disgraceful," writes the Bishop, "as well as malignant, is the part you have acted, that all men of honour and humanity must equally deny you both these qualities, especially when they are told that you grew to a man's estate, a member of that very church upon which you have now endeavoured to call down vengeance. But, sir, you come too late for that wicked purpose. This is not the age; at least, thanks to God, this is not the country of persecution for conscience sake."

Whatever the wise and learned may have thought of Abernethy Drummond's performances, it was no slight satisfaction to him to find that they produced the bitter fruit which he so much desired. His pamphlets were widely distributed among the Presbyterians; and, the more ignorant ministers, taking his denunciations for texts, raved in their pulpits about the evils of "Popery" and the dangers of the Relief Bill. Taking example from Drummond, they issued numberless pamphlets, whilst the newspapers teemed with bitter and inflammatory articles. It would be to withhold due honour to Principal Campbel, not to mention, and with praise, that he was almost the only one among the Presbyterians, who protested against the popular clamour. In an address to the people of Scotland on the subject, he disclaimed all attempts to repress the growth of "Popery" by compulsion, and insisted that the only consistent course for a Protestant nation, was the milder method of persuasion.

CAP. XXVII.

GREAT EXCITEMENT—WICKEDNESS OF GLASGOW SYNOD—SACKING OF MR. M'DONALD'S HOUSE—MR. BAGNALL—IRISH RELIEF BILL PASSED—REJOICINGS OF PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS—THE LORD ADVOCATE REFUSES TO PRESENT THE ADDRESS OF THE GLASGOW AND AYR SYNOD—A HIGHLAND LAIRD INVEIGHS AGAINST BISHOP HAY—HIS PATIENCE—ADMIRATION OF MR. MENZIES—BOURGOYNE, CONWAY AND OTHER GENERALS ALWAYS FRIENDLY—ADDRESS OF SCOTCH CATHOLICS PRESENTED TO THE KING—DEATH OF BISHOP GRANT—HIS CHARACTER—BISHOP HAY VICAR APOSTOLIC OF LOWLAND DISTRICT—FANATICAL VIOLENCE--RIOT AT EDINBURGH—DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH AND HOUSE SO RECENTLY BUILT.

The excitement of the time was not destined to end with a mere war of words. The unreasoning multitude resolved on something more. On the 13th of October the Synod of Glasgow issued its wicked resolutions against "Popery," and on the following Sunday the fanatical Presbyterian populace of that city took it upon itself to execute them. Among the numerous strangers who had come to reside in Glasgow there were a few Catholics. They had no church or chapel, and hence met on Sundays at the house of one of their number, Donald MacDonald, a comb manufacturer, who bore the reputation of being honest, industrious and inoffensive. A priest occasionally visited them from Edinburgh. In his absence they had prayers in common. On Sunday, 18th October, Rev. Robert Menzies, of Edinburgh, celebrated mass for this pious congregation. It was scarcely over when a mob was observed assembling round the house, and exclaiming against the impudence of those people who dared to bring "Popery" into that Presbyterian city, after the Synod had so determinedly protested against it only a few days ago. Before the Catholics could get away to their homes, which they tried to do as quietly as possible, the mob broke into the house, threatening them and uttering savage cries and imprecations. MacDonald showed the rioters over the house, where, however, to their great disappointment, they could find no signs of "Popish" worship. To make amends, and becoming more violent, they smashed the windows, tore the doors off the hinges and rifled the house of everything they could carry away. Mr. Menzies had managed to secure the altar furniture. He then mingled in the crowd, and for self-preservation, joined in the cry "where is the priest?" Macdonald's wife, who was a Protestant, endeavoured to steal out, in order to give notice to a magistrate, but she was intercepted by the mob, and so maltreated, that she was obliged to take refuge in a friend's house. The riot spreading, many persons were wounded with stones, and respectable parties were stopped and assaulted in the streets, on the bare suspicion of being Catholics. A French gentleman who had resided for some time in the city as a thread manufacturer, under the protection of the Board of Trustees, was especially an object of vengeance to the mob, as was also an Englishman of the name of Bagnall, who had introduced into Glasgow, the manufacture of Staffordshire ware. The law officers of the Crown, although friendly to Catholics, advised them, in reply to their application, to waive their rights and make no resistance; but, as soon as possible. to publish a good refutation of Drummond's tract. They might also have expressed the hope that their synod would teach the people more wisely in the future than it had done in the past. It is quite possible, however, that they could not entertain any such hope.

In view of such occurrences and the general clamour it is by no means surprising that the Catholics felt alarmed in regard to the fate of the promised Relief Bill. The Ministry were friendly, Sir John Dalrymple zealous in the cause, and the Lord Advocate true to his plighted word; but, might not Parliament be swayed by the extraordinary demonstrations that were taking place in Scotland? There was much encouragement to be derived from the passing of the Relief Bill for the Irish Catholics. This Bill had received the Royal Assent in the National Parliament of Dublin on August 14th, and, with the exception of some murmuring on the part of the Whigs out of doors, and a few incendiary riots in the counties of Down and Antrim, was cordially welcomed by the nation at large. The town of Loughrea was illuminated, and the Protestant people there, with Lord Clanricarde at their head, spent an evening in festivity with their Catholic fellow townsmen. There was no reason why Scotland should be an exception to the cordiality shown throughout England and Ireland, in the performance of an act of clemency and justice towards the Catholics. A meeting of the principal Catholic proprietors of Scotland was held on the 14th of August, with a view to consider what it was best for them to do in order to secure the passing of the measure for their relief. Bishop MacDonald attended, together with several of the leading Highland Catholics. The Lowland interest was also well represented. Bishop Hay persuaded the meeting, but not without some difficulty, to adopt resolutions which were to the following effect: "That Lord Linton, Mr. Maxwell, of Munshes, and Mr. Glendonwyn should wait on the Lord Advocate at Melville Castle and thank him, in the name of the Catholic people, for his past favours and his promise of future services. That they should also inform him that the heads of the proposed Relief Bill were under the consideration of a meeting of the Catholics at Edinburgh. It was also resolved that Mr. Crosbie, advocate of the Edinburgh bar, should be appointed to prepare the Bill accord-to the model of the English Bill, and that a rough draft of it should be sent to him by the meeting. The Bill, when approved, it was agreed, should be shown to Premier Lord North, before the meeting of Parliament. A voluntary subscription for defraying expenses was decided on, and it was finally resolved to make an offer of raising a Catholic regiment of 1,000 men for the public service. There was not so much unanimity in regard to this last proposal. The Highland proprietors, already accustomed to recruiting, willingly agreed to it; but the Lowland gentlemen strenuously opposed it. This, no doubt, they were entitled to do. But it was highly unbecoming that one of their number should take occasion, as he warmly and bitterly expressed his opinion, to inveigh against what he called the innovations on the principles and practice of the Catholic body and of their forefathers, which Bishop Hay had introduced. This attack on Bishop Hay was quite unjustifiable, as whatever changes he had made were effected concurrently with his superior, the senior Bishop, and with the sanction of the Holy See. The Bishop said not a word in reply; but received the severe, abusive and unmerited criticism with the greatest meekness and humility. The late Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, who was present, was so struck with the conduct of the Bishop, that believing he beheld a living saint, he ever after entertained the greatest esteem and friendship for Bishop Hay.

The Government was still friendly, as shown by the refusal of the Lord Advocate to present to the King and Parliament the hostile addresses of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, reminding them that their General Assembly had denied that "Popery" was on the increase, and severely condemning the terms of the addresses.

As has been seen, Generals Bourgoyne and Conway took pains to befriend the Catholics. They were not alone, in this respect, among our army men. A body of Catholic soldiers had expressed a wish to attend Mass at a public chapel. The Major commanding forbade them to do so, as a measure of precaution. Bishop Hay represented the matter to the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Adolphus

Oughton. The General replied through Sir John Dalrymple, regretting that he was from home when the Bishop called on him, and adding that he had seriously considered the note and narrative which he had left for him, and which he had characterized as being thoroughly candid and fraught with that spirit of moderation which becomes his (the Bishop's) character, and which the circumstances of the times seem strongly to require. "Happy is it for the Roman Catholics," he says to Sir John, "that your worthy friend is now at their head, from whose gentleness of temper as well as solidity of judgment, I trust, such measures will be taken as may most effectually dissipate these threatening clouds."....
The General granted permission to the men to "drop into chapel, a few at a time, but they must not go in a body, for fear of a disturbance."

It was made an objection to the Catholic claims, that "Popery" was increasing. This was by no means the case. Many of the Highland Catholics when emigration to America became impossible, settled in the towns; and this circumstance gave an appearance of increase which did not really exist. In all Scotland they were but a mere handful, compared to the numbers of Catholics in England and Ireland which had been favoured with a mitigation of the penal laws. In those two countries, they were com puted to be one hundred and fifty times more numerous than in Scotland.

While the fear of an imaginary increase of the professors of the hated religion, together with an equally groundless dread of the action of "Romish" schools and priests, and Jesuits without number, was agitating the minds of the populace, the venerable Bishop Grant was called from this earthly scene and its many troubles. Thirty years before, he had undergone, with unshaken constancy the ordeal of a like, if not more terrible, storm of hostile agitation. He was saved from witnessing the violence of the tempest that was now in preparation. The journey to Scalan had exhausted his already enfeebled constitution; and although his friends still hoped that he would be spared to them over the winter, he departed this life at Aberdeen, on the 3rd of December, in the forty-fifth year of his priesthood and the twenty-fourth of his episcopate. He was interred, with becoming honour, in the Snows Churchyard (Sta Maria ad Nives). Such letters of his as remain give indication of a highly cultivated and refined mind. His best eulogium will be found in the words of Bishop John Macdonald: "He was one of the few who in their whole life escaped all censure, because censure could find no access to one who entered on the stage of the world with the maturity of old age, and whose conduct from the beginning was regulated by the most solid maxims of prudence and religion."—*Bishop Macdonald to Bishop Hay, Jan. 4th,* 1779.

Bishop Hay now became, by right of succession, Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district. At the same time, the Scotch College at Rome was restored to the Cardinal Protector; and the Bishop congratulated His Eminence on his good fortune, whilst intimating to him his own change of position. The Principal of Valladolid wrote his congratulations, saying also: "How critical are the circumstances in which you come to that office!"

It was considered necessary at this time that Bishop Hay, together with Lord Linton, should proceed to London in order to promote the progress of the Relief Bill through Parliament. Letters of introduction to friends in London were given to Lord Linton by Sir John Dalrymple, so well known as a friend of the cause. They at once resumed negotiations with the Ministry, to whom the proposal to raise a Catholic regiment was very acceptable. Lord Germain, however, suggested a change of the wording, leaving the substance the same, in order that it might be legally accepted. The two ministers then desired that it should be presented to the King. This was done by Lord Linton at a levee. His Majesty, who had been prepared for it by Lord North, instead of handing it to the lord in waiting, put it in his pocket. It was intended to show what benefit the State would derive from the repeal, or even a mitigation of the penal laws.

As soon as it was known that measures were in progress for the passing of the Relief Bill, the agitation throughout Scotland raged with redoubled fury. The first step of the "Friends of Protestantism" was to place themselves in communication with Lord George Gordon, the head of a like fanatical association in England; and who, not many months later, acquired fresh notoriety by his violent and unlawful proceedings. There was no end to petitioning; and school boys were hired to give their names to swell the lists of *good Protestants.* Counsel were employed to plead against the passing of the Bill at the Bar of the Houses of Parliament; and inflammatory hand-bills were scattered among the people. Some of these are still preserved at Preshome. Among the rest, one of a very elaborate character, an impression on copper, representing "Sawney's" opposition to the Relief Bill. The description of it is so disgustingly nasty, that our pen refuses to transcribe it. The fury increased as the time approached for the consideration of the Bill by Parliament. In the latter half of January incendiary letters were dropped about the streets of Edinburgh, and others were sent to some of the principal tradesmen and other respectable persons, conveying threats that, unless they "reformed," their property, their chapels and even their persons would be given to destruction. Catholics were assailed in the streets, when recognized as such, with savage and outrageous cries, such as: "There's a Papist, knock him down; shoot him!" It was no longer safe for a Catholic to remain in his own house. Some, about the end of January, actually abandoned their homes and went to stay with friends. It would appear that the intended riot broke out a little sooner than the leaders of the mob proposed. On January 29th they caused hand-bills to be dropped about the streets, inviting to do the *Godly* work on the following Wednesday. They ran thus: "Men and Brethren,—whoever shall find this letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd on Wednesday next in the evening to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there.

"A PROTESTANT.

"Edinburgh, Jan. 29th, 1779.

"P. S. Please to read this carefully, keep it clean and drop it somewhere else. For King and country —unity." Prefixed to this precious document were the names of the "Committee of the Protestant interest." These very pious persons tried, afterwards, but in vain, to repudiate the incendiary placard. It was clearly proved to have been composed and circulated directly under their auspices, "for the Protestant interest." The new building in Chalmer's close, near Leith Wynd, had been in use as a dwelling house for about four months. But the chapel had not been opened for public service, although Bishop Hay had said Mass in it privately. During Saturday, January 30th, a mob of ill-disposed persons, gathered about the house, breaking the windows, insulting the Bishop's servants and all who went in or came out. Next day, an alarming report ran through the city that an early day in that week had been fixed on for burning the new chapel, and the destruction of the chapel and priest's house in Blackfriar's Wynd, together with the shops and dwelling houses of the principal Catholics in the town. On Monday morning the threatened victims of the fury of the populace besought the Lord Provost Hamilton to adopt vigourous measures for their protection. This dignitary and the other magistrates were suspected of collusion with the mob, One thing is certain; they were apathetic and indifferent, contenting themselves with vague assurances that there was no real cause for apprehension, whilst they made no preparation to meet a crisis which was becoming every hour more imminent, beyond issuing an order to the heads, deacons, as they were called, of the incorporated trades, to do their best to keep the young men under their charge from riotous and disorderly conduct. About noon on February 2nd, the mob again assembled around the new chapel house and began to pelt the inmates with stones. Mr. James Cameron and a young priest, Mr. Mathison, just arrived from Spain, sat down to dinner at two o'clock; but the shower of stones soon became so sharp that they could no longer remain with safety in the house. They managed with great difficulty to force their way through the crowd, to the other chapel-house in Blackfriar's Wynd, taking with them the servants and as much of the chapel furniture as they could collect in a few hurried moments and conceal about their persons. Their departure was the signal for the mob to force the doors of the house, which was instantly filled with wild men, armed with hatchets and stones, under the powerful strokes of which the interior of the house soon became a complete wreck. The space of open ground around, and all the avenues leading to it, were at once filled with a dense mass of the rabble, and instantly was heard a general roar: "Set fire to it, set fire to it immediately!" This cry decided the fate of the building. Straw and barrels of tar were distributed over the several floors, and the whole structure was speedily in a flame, which continued to blaze till ten o'clock at night. A venerable priest, long since deceased, who was acquainted with Bishop Hay, told his friends as a proof of the satisfaction this outrageous work afforded some parties, that an aged lady of the Presbyterian persuasion caused herself to be conveyed to a place from which she could view the burning edifice, and then spreading out her shrivelled hands, thanked the Lord that she was spared to warm her hands at the flames of "the house of sin!"

CAP. XXVIII.

WAS THE RIOT CONNIVED AT?—HEROISM OF HENRY, DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH—STRANGE CONDUCT OF THE AUTHORITIES—RELIEF BILL DEFERRED—BISHOP HAY'S RETURN TO EDINBURGH—COMFORTS HIS PEOPLE—PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON'S HOUSE DEFENDED—THOSE OF SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE AND MR. CROSBIE PROTECTED BY THE SHERIFF—SINGULAR PROCLAMATION OF THE MAGISTRATES—CHIEF JUSTICE MILLER EQUALLY PUSILLANIMOUS—JUDGE SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE'S SYMPATHY WITH BISHOP HAY—INSISTS ON COMPENSATION—THE CLERGY OBLIGED TO LIVE CONCEALED—BISHOP HAY NOT DISCOURAGED—ABERDEEN THREATENED WITH RIOT—PREVENTED BY PRINCIPAL CAMPBEL AND DR. GERARD—RIOT AT GLASGOW—MR. BAGNAL'S HOUSE AND PROPERTY DESTROYED—VIGOUR OF MAGISTRATES—DAMAGES PROMPTLY PAID—KINDNESS OF MERCHANTS AND MINISTERS—DUNDEE IN DANGER—OFFICER ON DUTY THREATENS THE POPULACE WITH FIXED BAYONETS—A MOB AT PEEBLES—ANOTHER AT PERTH—COUNTY GENTLEMEN SAVE STOBHALL—SAD TIME—CLERGY ABROAD ONLY AFTER NIGHTFALL—A FANATICAL M.P. INSISTS THAT ALL

CHILDREN OF CATHOLICS BE BROUGHT UP PROTESTANTS—CATHOLICS PROPOSE EMIGRATING IN A BODY—THE PROPOSAL DISCOURAGED—BISHOP HAY'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN INDEMNIFICATION AND PROTECTION FOR THE FUTURE—KEEN DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT—MESSRS. FOX AND WILKES INSISTING ON MORE THAN THE BISHOP ASKED—WOULD HAVE RELIEF BILL AT ONCE—MR. BURKE PREVAILS; CAUSES GOVERNMENT TO PAY ONE HALF OF THE RIOT COST AND TO COMPEL THE CITY OF EDINBURGH TO PAY THE REMAINING HALF—CATHOLICS PROTECTED ALTHOUGH NO FORMAL ASSURANCE COULD BE GIVEN.

It will ever be a mystery to ordinary readers how it came to pass, that with abundant means of defence at hand, no efficient protection was given to the Bishop's house or those of the Catholic laymen which were attacked and plundered. The town guard is not worth mentioning; but there was in the city a numerous body of the regiment of "Fencibles," commanded by the Duke of Buccleugh. If these men had acted, there would have been no destruction of property. But how came it that they did not act when their commander displayed so much zeal and courage? The riot act, indeed, was read; but no entreaty on the part of the commander, or Lieutenant-Colonel, could prevail on the magistrates to use the military at their command, in other words, they would not authorize the soldiers to charge the mob. This looked like collusion with the rioters, as was, indeed, alleged with much show of truth. Why did not the Commander, who was Lord-Lieutenant of the county, give the order to scatter the rabble? Nobody suspected him of connivance. He frequently endangered his life by his personal efforts; but the civic authority alone, we imagine, commanded in the city. It was a pleasure to hear the late Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels relate how Henry, Duke of Buccleugh, sprang into the midst of the mob, seized a ringleader, and handed him to the authorities. This, it appears, he did several times, at great personal risk. But what availed it? No sooner were such parties committed to prison in the Castle than they were liberated, and that by the orders of the Lord Advocate? It looked like inaugurating anarchy when the rulers of the land thus encouraged the outrageous proceedings of an impious and lawless mob. Several tradesmen suffered the destruction of their shops. Among these sufferers were Lockhart and Smith, who, it will be remembered, left the nonjuring flock and became the occasion of "the appendix" to Bishop Hay's work on Miracles.

The dangers arising from the agitation in Scotland discouraged the Government from forwarding the

Relief Bill. The Scotch members were induced by the popular clamour to withhold their support. So, with the general consent, it was formally withdrawn. Bishop Hay, now that nothing more could be done towards the great object of repeal, in the meantime, hastened back to Scotland, where his afflicted people stood in need of all the comfort and support it was in his power to afford them. He reached Edinburgh at the very time the flames were devouring his new house and Church. While walking from the inn towards his home, quite unaware of what was happening, he observed that the streets were unusually crowded. To his great surprise, the crowding increased as he proceeded. When near Blackfriars' Wynd, he enquired of an old woman whom he met, what the matter was—what it all meant. "O, sir," she replied, "we are burning the Popish chapel, and we only wish we had the Bishop to throw into the fire." The Bishop made the best of his way to the Castle where he was safe in the midst of our brave military.

The day after that on which the new house was burned, the mob attacked and plundered the chapel house in Blackfriar's Wynd. It was, however, in so crowded a locality, that the whole city would have been in manifest danger if it had been set on fire. Resistance was therefore made, and successfully.

The stand which Principal Robertson had made in support of moderation, humanity and justice, had rendered him obnoxious to the fanatical populace. They determined, therefore, to devote the afternoon to the destruction of his residence which was within the precincts of the University. He himself took refuge in the castle, and a strong detachment of the "Fencibles" supported by cavalry, effectually protected the house of this excellent man notwithstanding the oft-repeated attacks of the mob.

Some fear was entertained for Lord Linton's town residence, Ramsay Lodge, and his infant daughter was removed to a place of safety, while his chaplain, Mr. Cruikshanks, withdrew for a few days to Traquair House.

Wednesday evening, according to a notice sent, was appointed for a visit by the mob to Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Crosbie. The latter was not only an eloquent pleader, but also at the same time a skilful artillery man. He availed himself of his knowledge and made warlike preparations, covering the roof of his house with hand grenades and loaded blunderbusses, and, so, awaited the arrival of the enemy. Sir John, as he himself related, not being so well acquainted with the art of war, sent a requisition to the magistrates, as one of the king's judges, asking for a guard of soldiers and a qualified person to read the riot act, and that he, as a justice of the peace for the county, should have the command of the whole party in the event of his house being attacked. The magistrates could not assist him, as his house was not within the Royalty. They, however, sent his message to the sheriff. This official at once went to him, and offered him a hundred soldiers, the riot act, and as much powder and ball as he wished for his use on the occasion. The populace hearing of the formidable preparations that were made to receive them at the houses of Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Crosbie, contented themselves with marching forward and backward, several times, before their gates; but without venturing to attack. Surely as much might have been done, and with as good results, at the commencement of the riot. "Where there's a will there's a way."

The same evening, the Lord Provost and magistrates pronounced their own condemnation by a Proclamation which they issued. It formally assured the citizens that the Relief Bill had been withdrawn, and that, in consequence, "the fears and apprehensions of well-meaning people with regard to the penal laws against "Papists" might now be set at rest. They concluded by informing the public that the magistrates were now resolved to take vigourous measures for repressing riotous and tumultuous meetings of the populace; for now they were satisfied "that any future disorders could proceed only from the wicked views of bad and designing men." This was an indirect, indeed, but certain sanctioning of the riot that had just occurred, and of any similar riot provided that its objects were opposition to the Catholic Relief Bill. *Well-meaning* persons had mobbed and rioted, plundered and burned in order to obstruct the repeal of the Penal Laws. There was no further alarm on that head now; future rioters and incendiaries, therefore, would not be allowed the benefit of the mild treatment suitable to *well-meaning persons.* Thus was a dangerous precedent established. But, indeed, nothing better could have been expected from the magistrates of Edinburgh. But what must not be our surprise when we find men of the highest education, statesmen and judges of the land, acting with the like pusillanimity! A few days later, a proclamation similar to that of the magistrates was issued by Sir Thomas Miller, who was at that time the highest criminal judge in Scotland. He claimed to be authorized by Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of State, who, through the medium of the Lord Justice clerk, desired to assure the people of Scotland that no Bill for the repeal of the laws against Papists was intended to be brought into

Parliament by any member of the Government, or by any other person known to Lord Weymouth. He ended by expressing the hope that this assurance would "quiet the minds of all ranks of people on this subject."

The "friends of the Protestant interest" and their great supporter, the populace of Edinburgh, now rested from their labours, satisfied, as well they might, with the victory which, to the lasting disgrace of the rulers of the land, they had so easily won.

Bishop Hay, who had suffered so much, was not without sympathy. The flames of his favourite house and church, it may be said, were still blazing, when that most worthy Judge Sir John Dalrymple, wrote to him, kindly offering all the encouragement that words could convey. The first half of his letter was in French, in case it should be intercepted. "Have no fear at all; everything will turn out to your advantage. It is reported that the city will willingly pay your damages. Let me know where you are; I will come and see you. If you want money I will send you some. The city and the Advocate will let the prisoners escape for want of proof; take care then to have proofs in the precognition which will soon be taken. You ought to write, with thousand thanks, to the Duke of Buccleugh; he ventured his life, over and over again, to save your house and your people, and had the magistrates done their duty, as he did, your house would now have been standing and Mrs. Macdonald living. * * * Some think this is the time to get your Bill, that Government may show the populace are not to prescribe to them. I have advised Lord Linton to be governed by Lord Mansfield."

Lord Linton was still in London; and the noble minded Dalrymple wrote to him, also, conveying the news of the riot. He condemned indignantly the conduct of the magistrates throughout the whole affair, adding that the few prisoners, who still remained in custody, would probably be discharged, "as there is party in the case; and thus to gain a borough, 25,000 of the most zealous subjects will be lost to the King.... If the corporation be not obliged to pay the damages done and the prisoners be not punished, then I think there is no Government in Scotland; and if the King's servants leave this country to itself, they may chance to hear of it. I did not expect to see the day when the non-jurors and the enthusiastical part of this country were to prescribe Acts of Parliament for the rest of us. Their fury was the more ungenerous that the news had come down the day before of Your Lordship's dropping the Bill for the sake of public quiet."

The Catholics of Scotland were now in a worse position than they had been in for thirty years, after all that they had done towards promoting the relief of their brethren in England and Ireland. The clergy were without a house or church, and were obliged to live concealed in the houses of their friends. Bishop Hay's papers were fortunately saved from the flames; but his furniture and a valuable library, the accumulation of three of his predecessors, had partly been destroyed by the fire and partly distributed, by public auction, among the riotous populace. He, nevertheless, showed the most exemplary resignation. He was more concerned for the sufferings of his afflicted people than grieved by his own losses. He exhorted them not to be discouraged, but to trust that in God's own good time, "He will make light to rise out of darkness and order out of confusion." He assured them, moreover, that if they and he himself were not wanting in their duty, His infinite goodness would turn all to their greater good, remembering "that all things work together for good, to them who love God;" and "that, through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of heaven." He conjured them, at the same time, never to allow the slightest resentment against those who injured them, to enter their hearts, following the example of Him who prayed, when on the bitter cross: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Aberdeen was also threatened; and was only saved from a riot, similar to that which had disgraced Edinburgh, by the successful exertions of Principal Campbell and Dr. Gerard in behalf of order and peace.

In Glasgow the Catholics were less fortunate. A day of fasting and humiliation had been appointed throughout Scotland, by Royal proclamation, on account of the war with France and America. The "friends to the Protestant interest" resolved to give additional sanctity to the day, by a riotous attack on the property of several Catholics of the place. In defiance of the magistrates and the military, the mob completely destroyed the stock in Mr. Bagnall's Staffordshire warehouse, together with his private residence. On some of the ringleaders being apprehended, the populace demanded their release with such fury, that the authorities were obliged to set them at liberty. The magistrates, however, adopted more vigourous measures; the streets were patrolled by military and by a large body of special constables furnished by the incorporate trades, and the riot ended with the day. The principal merchants and even the ministers were ashamed of the violence of the mob and kindly received the victims of its lawlessness. There never was any difficulty in obtaining full compensation for their losses.

Symptoms of an inclination to riot were manifested at Dundee. They were promptly and effectually checked by the commandant, who swore that, on the first appearance of any disorder, he would turn out four hundred soldiers with fixed bayonets.

A mob at Peebles audaciously threatened the ancient house of Traquair. Their wrath, however, was pleased to be satisfied by throwing stones at Catholics as they came out of the chapel. They were probably cool enough to calculate the cost of further violence.

A Perth mob, bent on mischief, put itself in march for Stobhall under the auspices of the "Friends to Protestantism." The county gentlemen, however, gathered a respectable force, consisting of their servants and the country people, for the defence of their Catholic neighbours. The mob becoming aware of this preparation to meet them and hearing the discharge of firearms, retired without risking a battle.

It was a sorrowful time. The clergy could not walk abroad in the streets till after nightfall; and as regarded the public duties of their office, they could do nothing; they had neither house nor chapel wherein to officiate. The "friends of the Protestant interest" pushed their persecution so far as to insist that Protestants should have no relation whatever with Catholics even in the ordinary business of life. A fanatical member of Parliament went farther still and proposed that for the more effectual annihilation of the hated religion, Catholic children should be taken from under the care of their parents and be brought up by Protestants. So little prospect was there of escaping from such cruel persecution, that the Catholics seriously entertained the project of emigrating in a body, to some foreign country. Spain was thought of and the Spanish ambassador at London gave every countenance to the scheme. It was discouraged by influential Catholics, and, in a short time, abandoned. Meanwhile Bishop Hay was making great exertions in order to obtain indemnification and protection for the future. His two-fold claim occupied the attention of Parliament for some time, and was keenly debated. Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Fox insisted on more than the Bishop asked. They would have the Relief Bill immediately proceeded with. Mr. Burke was the most eloquent advocate; and finally, after much debating, he induced the Legislature to decide that Government should pay one-half of the damage done by the Edinburgh riot, and that the city should be compelled to pay the remaining half. The assessors had already decided that payment be made, but the magistrates and council held the contrary opinion. The debates in Parliament aroused their fears; and they were only too glad to find that they were obliged to pay only one-half.

The assurance of protection to Catholics by the Legislature was quite another question. It was objected to on the ground that it would have amounted to a repeal of the penal laws, and could not be safely entertained in the actual state of the country. The Bishop and his friends were only too glad that they had succeeded so well, and found so many powerful supporters among the rulers of the land. Although there was no formal promise of protection, Catholics and their property, nevertheless, were protected in every place where riot was attempted, except one, and that one, the capital of the country, was made to pay for its delinquency.

CAP. XXIX.

QUIET SLOWLY RETURNING—"BY CORNERS"—PRAYER FOR THE KING—WHY DEFERRED—DEATH OF BISHOP JOHN M'DONALD—BISHOP HAY ASKS FOR A COADJUTOR—THE REV. JOHN GEDDES APPOINTED—THE CLERGY SATISFIED—LEAVE TO ELECT A SUCCESSOR TO BISHOP M'DONALD—MR. GEDDES CONSECRATED WITH GREAT POMP AT MADRID BY THE ARCH-BISHOP OF TOLEDO—ANNUITY GRANTED BY THE KING OF SPAIN—HANDSOME PRESENT BY THE DUKE OF HIJAR, PRESENTED TO THE KING—ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO ASKS FOR WORKS OF BISHOP HAY—PRESENTS TO BISHOP GEDDES A TOPAZ RING HE HIMSELF HAD LONG WORN—BISHOP GEDDES RETIRES TO VALLADOLID—IN THE MIDST OF SO MUCH GLORY, FORGETS NOT SCOTLAND—BISHOP HAY AT SCALAN—FRIENDS THERE, AIDED BY A CHARGE OF £8 YEARLY FROM EACH BOARDER—REV. ALEX. M'DONALD OF BARRA, VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF THE HIGHLANDS, WAS THE SON OF BOISDALE—BY DISPENSATION NO SECOND BISHOP AT CONSECRATION—PRAYER FOR THE KING ON OCCASION OF NATIONAL FAST—STEPS TOWARDS INTRODUCING CANONICAL DISCIPLINE—PASTORAL LETTER—MODERATION OF THE HOLY SEE—THE LORD GEORGE GORDON RIOT—THE SAME LORD ENDS HIS CAREER AT NEWGATE.

The bad feeling which prompted and accompanied so much illegal proceeding did not easily die away. It soon began to decrease. But it was some time before it was safe for Bishop Hay to stay constantly at Edinburgh. So late as 1782, on occasion of a visit to the family of a relative at Glasgow, Dr. Cleland, it was necessary for him to get away from that city very privately, "In a clandestine manner," as is said, in order to avoid disturbance. By the month of August, the older chapel and priest's residence, the building in Blackfriars' Wynd, was restored and opened. Everything looked so well that a friendly Protestant, Mr. Drummond, a clever lawyer, proposed the purchase of a large house in which there was space for a room that could be used as a chapel, forty feet long and fourteen high, representing at the same time to the Bishop that he must not have his church any more in "By corners," but in an open part of the town and near protection.

It will be remembered that when the Relief Bills for England and Ireland were passed, a prayer for the King and Royal Family was generally adopted by the Catholics of those countries. The Catholics of Scotland, aware that the King and his Government were favourable to their claims, desired unanimously that a like prayer should be in use among themselves, but had hitherto refrained, lest it should be taken as a sign that their Relief Bill was still under consideration, and the half smothered embers of fanaticism be roused into new fury. If, however, it was found to be pleasing to Premier Lord North and His Majesty, they would unhesitatingly adopt it without regard to the ideas of their enemies.

Bishop Hay, still in London, was thinking of dividing his labours with a coadjutor, when the sad news reached him of the death of Bishop John Macdonald. An epidemic fever that was raging in Knoydart country caused his death in a five days' illness. He had caught the infection when attending the death-bed of a parishioner, and, worn out as he was by incessant labour, he fell an easy prey to the severe attack. Bishop Hay, in writing to the Principal of Valladolid, speaks of the deceased Bishop as "our worthy and most valuable friend." He wrote in similar terms to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Castelli: "Our poor mission has lost in him a worthy prelate, a zealous pastor, a learned and wise priest; and I, a prudent adviser, a faithful friend, and a support to my weakness." In the same letter, the Bishop presented his request for a coadjutor to himself. He could not say that he was aged as yet; but he was old in constitution and weak in health. The labours of twenty years, in the missions, had impaired his strength, and he felt utterly inadequate to sustain the burden of the vicariate alone. The good Cardinal at once consented, and left it to the Bishop to name the party on whom his choice had fallen. At the same time, leave was given for the election of a successor to the deceased Bishop of the Highland district, and a dispensation granted to Bishop Hay to consecrate him alone without the assistance of any other bishop. Bishop Hay lost no time in naming as his coadjutor, Mr. Geddes, with whose excellent qualities he was so well acquainted. The nomination was cordially accepted by the clergy, Mr. Robert Grant of Douai alone dissenting, not that he thought Mr. Geddes was not qualified for the episcopal office, but that he would continue to be more useful in his position as Principal of the College of Valladolid, which he had hitherto conducted with eminent success. Mr. Geddes himself, made no opposition to the appointment. The will of his superiors was to him the will of heaven. In a letter to Abbate Grant he said: "Among the means of rendering things easy to me, I hope one that Providence will make use of, will be that of preserving long in life, my good friend, Bishop Hay, so that I may have little to do but to execute his orders, in the doing of which, with the divine aid, I do not apprehend much difficulty." It was arranged that Mr. Geddes should remain another year in Spain; but Bishop Hay desired that his consecration should take place without delay. It was appointed, accordingly, that he should be consecrated, without loss of time, at Madrid. To this the King of Spain not only consented, but also, at the same time, settled on the Bishop-elect an annual pension of £106, chargeable on the wealthy See of Cuenca. As it was the custom in Spain that there should be a *Patrinus*, or Patron, the Duke of Hijar accepted this office in his own name and that of his brother-in-law, the Count of Montijo, who was then with the King at the Escurial. It fell to the Patrinus to defray the expenses connected with the consecration. Bishop Hay heard of these preparations with the greatest satisfaction, and with pious gratitude to heaven, claimed as his friends, the friends of his friend, the Bishop elect. The rite of consecration was performed with great solemnity at Madrid, in the Church of the Nuns of the Visitation, where the excellent Mr. Geddes, together with the Bishops-elect of Urgal and of Almeria, was promoted to the Episcopate by Francis Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo. On this auspicious day Bishop Geddes dined with his Patrinus. The good duke, knowing that he was fond of children, contrived a very graceful way of presenting him with a valuable cross and ring. The duke's young son, when at a game of play with the Bishop, placed the gift in his hand. His Grace of Hijar also presented the newly-consecrated Bishop to His Majesty the King, and to the princes and princesses. The Archbishop inquired particularly about Bishop Hay, and desired to have a copy of his works sent to him for his library at Toledo. He also made a gift to Bishop Geddes of a beautiful topaz ring which he had himself long worn. Bishop Geddes was far from being elated by so many honours. He retired to Valladolid, intending to spend there the Christmas holidays. He had conceived a great affection for the hospitable Spaniards, among whom he met with so much kindness, and he regretted leaving them; but this did not hinder him from *turning his thoughts towards his good old friends in Scotland, of whom he thought very often, even in the midst of the grandeur of Spain—B. Geddes to B. Hay, Dec. 4th.*

After a most fatiguing sojourn of four months in London, Bishop Hay returned to Scotland, July 1779; avoiding the large cities, he proceeded at once, to Scalan. There, with the senior priests of both vicariates, he felt, once more, that he was among friends, and could enjoy that tranquility to which he had been so long a stranger. He was greatly benefitted, also, by the change of place and scene. The bracing air of the Highland Glens and the exercises in which he indulged, contributed much to renew his health; and when, a little later, he could have the advantage of sea-bathing, he hoped for complete restoration. It was arranged that he should spend the winter at Aberdeen, partly on account of the clerical duty required there, and partly in order to avoid being at Edinburgh, where he could scarcely yet, such was the state of popular feeling, appear in public. As additional relief, at this time, he placed the office of procurator of the mission in the hands of the administrators, who appointed, in his place, Mr. J. Thomson, not forgetting to compliment the retiring procurator on the strict accuracy with which he had always kept his accounts.

There is mention at this time of the scarcity of funds for the maintenance of the seminary at Scalan. It was determined, therefore, to charge, in future, each boarder £8 yearly. Candidates for admission on the endowed fund were also required to pay the like sum during their probation.

The appointment of a successor to the deceased Bishop John MacDonald was not a matter of such unanimity as that of Bishop Geddes. Six of the senior priests voted for the Rev. Alexander McDonald, the priest at Barra, who had been in Bishop McDonald's time, Vicar-General of the Highland district. Six junior priests gave their votes for Rev. Alex. McDonald of Knoydart. To the great dissatisfaction of the latter, the juniors, Bishop Hay supported the votes of the six seniors; and the priest of Barra was, in consequence, elected by the Cardinals of Propaganda. This Bishop-elect was the son of Mr. McDonald, the Laird of Boisdale. He was now Bishop of Polemo, *in partibus*, and, as Vicar Apostolic, chief pastor of all the Highlands. His consecration was delayed by the state of the weather. Storms in the Western Islands prevented him from proceeding to Scalan, where it was arranged that the ceremony should take place. The deep snow made it impossible for Bishop Hay to travel from Aberdeen, so that it was not till Passion Sunday, March 12th, that he enjoyed the great satisfaction of consecrating his former fellow-student. The consecration, without the assistance of a second Bishop, was sanctioned by a formal dispensation. The Rev. Messrs. Alexander Cameron and James MacGillivray were present.

The Bishop of the Lowland District had now some leisure for the consideration of useful ecclesiastical arrangements. Suitable regulations were made for a proper, uniform and becoming observance of the festival of the Purification, commonly called Candlemass Day.

On occasion of a Royal Proclamation ordaining a general fast day throughout the land on account of the critical circumstances of the country, the Bishop laid it as a duty on all his people to use a Prayer for the King and Royal Family, observing "that as it is the duty of every member of society to wish well to the country and the State to which he belongs, as the light of nature teaches, but also as the Holy Scripture expressly commands, 'to make supplications, prayers and intercessions for kings and all that are in high stations, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under their rule,' (1. Tim. ii). In furtherance of this object, he directed the clergy when enumerating the objects of their prayers before commencing Mass, to make special mention of the King, Queen, Royal Family, and all civil magistrates and rulers. He desired them also to intimate to their congregations that there would be public prayers on the 3rd of February, the day appointed for the national fast.

With a view to introducing more canonical discipline among the clergy, which he had been meditating for some time, the Bishop published a very long pastoral letter which might rather be described as a treatise. An idea of it may be derived from the heads of the sections into which it is divided. 1st.—On the sanctity annexed to the priesthood. 2nd.—On the sanctity required for the pastoral charge. 3rd.—On the sanctity that belongs to the character of an apostle. 4th.—On the sanctity which the Church requires in her ministers; citing acts of councils, etc. on clerical behaviour; on the virtues, especially, which they are charged to practice, and the amusements, etc., which they must avoid; of study; of prayer; even of their exterior behaviour; concluding in the words of I. Peter; ii; 1.: *Qua propter dilect Fratres.* * * * *Munde mur nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, perficientes sanctificationem in timore Domi.* It will be universally admitted that the clergy cannot be too much or too warmly exhorted to cultivate sanctity. It is quite another question whether the best way to attain this desirable end is that authority should require the utmost possible amount of external observance. In regard to this question, we have the example of the Holy See, which is far from holding exaggerated views, and rigidly insisting on an absolutely strict adherence to all outward practices, however good. An instance of this may be found in the relaxation of the law concerning certain holiday obligations granted to Scotland at the time of which we are writing. In virtue of this indult the precept of hearing Mass and of abstaining from servile work, was left binding on the Catholics of Scotland only on the following holidays: Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, Corpus Christi, the Annunciation and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; the festival of SS. Peter and Paul;

of All Saints, and of the patron saint of the place wherein it is kept. On Easter Monday and Tuesday, and on Pentecost Monday and Tuesday, the precept of hearing Mass was left binding, but not the obligation of abstaining from servile work. Vigils attached to the festivals, now dispensed from, were transferred to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, together with the precept of fasting. And, as the festival of SS. Peter and Paul sometimes falls in the hay harvest, and the festival of the Assumption in the barley harvest, the Bishops were authorized, in such cases, to permit manual labour in the fields, provided Mass had been heard.

A new outbreak of popular fury comes to be mentioned. It occurred in England; but was connected with Scotland, inasmuch as it was headed by a Scottish nobleman and suggested by the success of a Scotch mob in preventing Parliament from passing a Relief Bill in favour of the Catholics of Scotland. This was the memorable riot led by Lord George Gordon. This hopeful scion of the illustrious house of Gordon, which had so long and which still protected the Catholics of the North, had been intriguing, for some time, in order to stir up the populace of London with a view to force a repeal of the measures of toleration which the Legislature had provided for England and Ireland, and would have extended to Scotland but for the popular excitement in that country. The popular will had prevailed there, why should it not in England also? So thought Lord George Gordon, and a "Protestant association" of which he was the chief. This "association" is described in history, as consisting of persons "outrageously zealous and grossly ignorant," who would have been insignificant and unheeded, if not assisted by some party possessed of rank and influence. Such they found in Lord George Gordon, a young nobleman of a wild and fervid imagination, or, more correctly, perhaps, one who, on religious topics, was a monomaniac. Belonging to a leading family, and a member of the House of Commons, he was not without influence; and he, no doubt, thought it would add to his importance to be the leader of the "Protestant association," and to appear, thus, as the champion of Protestantism. He would, at any rate, gain a tolerable amount of mob notoriety as a member and chairman of the Society. In his quality as chairman he proposed, at a meeting of the Association in Coachmaker's Hall, on the 29th of May, 1780, that they should assemble in St. George's fields at ten o'clock on the 2nd of June, when they should accompany him with a petition to the House of Commons, praying for a repeal of the act of toleration recently granted to the Roman Catholics. On the day appointed for this extraordinary display of "moral force," the Commons were much surprised, although, indeed, considering the public notice, they could expect nothing less, to observe the approach of fifty thousand persons, distinguished by blue cockades in their hats, bearing the inscription "*No Popery.*" Lord George presented the petition and moved that it be taken into immediate consideration. His motion was rejected by 102 to 6. During the discussion, His Lordship frequently addressed the mob outside, which became more menacing as the petition was thrown out. It appeared as if they were determined to become violent and overwhelm the Commons. General Conway, noticing this temper of the crowd, drew his sword, and addressing Lord George Gordon, swore that he would run it through his body the moment any one of his rabble dared to enter the chamber. The leaders then diverted their attention by telling them that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the Catholic chapels. At the word, the obedient mob rushed away to the chapels of the foreign ambassadors, which they speedily set on fire and demolished. On the following Monday, numbers of idle and profligate persons, ever ready for riot and plunder, swelled the ranks of the incendiary mob. This accession of strength added to their violence. Several houses of prominent

Catholics were attacked, plundered and destroyed. As their fury increased, they no longer made any distinction. All property was alike to them. *Tros Tyriusque nullo discrimine agitur.* They hurried to Newgate and demanded the immediate release of some of their associates that were inprisoned there. This demand being rejected, they threw fire-brands and combustibles into the keeper's dwelling house. The flames spread rapidly, and the whole building was soon in a blaze. In the confusion and terror of the moment all the prisoners, more than three hundred, escaped and joined the rioters. Five other prisons were treated in the same fashion. the new prison, Clerkenwell, the King's Bench, the Fleet prison and New Bridewell were given to the flames, together with many private residences. On that Monday night, London was seen blazing in thirty-six different places at once. The mob then made for the Bank of England, where, it would appear, they met with resistance for the first time. They were severely punished by the soldiers on duty there. The military now came in from the country; and it was time. The King and council, without waiting for the tardy action of the civic powers, gave orders to the officers to use vigorously the force at their command, and scatter the rioters. Meanwhile, much damage was done, and more was feared. Such scenes of outrage and brutality, and no means at hand, at least none employed, for checking the disorder, for so long a time, could not but disgrace the country in the estimation of foreign nations. It was a whole week before tranquility was restored; and then it was found that 458 persons had been killed or wounded, whilst many perished from intoxication. Twenty-five of the most violent rioters were hanged. Under a warrant of the Secretaries of State, Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. This was a mistake. He should have been imprisoned as a highway man. The treason charge fell to the ground for want of proof; and this worst of evil doers was acquitted. Notwithstanding his cruel and atrocious proceedings, he was, on occasion of the riot, "unwhipped of justice." He found his way to Newgate at last, having libelled the Queen of France, and there ended his inglorious career.

CAP. XXX.

SCOTLAND EXCITED—FEAR OF RIOT—ABBE PAUL M'PHERSON—DEATH OF THE EX-PROVINCIAL OF THE JESUITS—THE VENERABLE ALLAN M'DONALD OR RANALDSON, MUCH ESTEEMED BY BISHOP HAY—HIS DEATH—"THE SINCERE CHRISTIAN" MUCH SOUGHT FOR—AN IRISH EDITION—TRANSLATED INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES—SEVERAL OPINIONS—BISHOP TALBOT'S, THE "PIOUS CHRISTIAN;" EQUALLY DESIRED IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND—DEATH OF BISHOP CHALLONER—HIS WORKS—BISHOP GEDDES IN SCOTLAND—MEETING OF THE BISHOPS—ARRANGEMENT FOR THE CARE OF PRINCIPAL GORDON'S INSANE BROTHER—MR. ALEX. GEDDES INJUDICIOUS—LEAVES THE MISSION—THE HIGH AND RARELY BESTOWED DEGREE OF DR. OF LAWS, (L.L.D.) CONFERRED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN—£200 YEARLY FROM THE CATHOLIC LORD PETRE.

It was feared lest the contagion should spread to Scotland. The riotously disposed there, however, as well as the authorities, had got their lesson. The certainty that all losses must be paid for made the magistrates more circumspect, and caused them to act with determination and vigour. The populace, although excited, refrained from all attempt at violent proceedings.

1780. There were several changes among the clergy this year. One of the most notable was the appointment of the Abbe Paul Macpherson, not unknown to fame, to the mission of Aberdeen, in place of Mr. Oliver, who, from weak health, retired to a country mission. Mr. Johnson, formerly Provincial of the Jesuits in Scotland, died this year. He was a native of Bræmar. His real name was Patrick Gordon. His connection with the expedition of Prince Charles had caused change of name. It obliged him also to live for some time in exile. By ability and tact in his management, he conciliated the good will of the secular clergy. He claimed to be a poet, and wrote spiritual and controversial songs, the greater part of which Bishop Hay collected and published. It is remarked, however, that these compositions do more honour to the orthodoxy than the literary accomplishments of the author. At this time, also, ended at Edinburgh, the career of the venerable Mr. Allan MacDonald, called also Ranaldson. This aged priest was much esteemed by Bishop Hay.

Notwithstanding his many occupations, Bishop Hay found time to prepare a work on Christian doctrine; and by this work, perhaps, he is more generally known than by any of his other writings. It bears this title, "The sincere Christian instructed in the faith of Christ from the written word." It may be described as a summary of revealed religion in the distinct and emphatic form of question and answer, the whole being illustrated and proved by copious extracts from Scripture. It is written in a conciliatory spirit, controversial, indeed, but defensively rather aggressively. In this style it shows the grounds on which are founded the disputed articles of Catholic faith and practice, without attacking the views and ways of other religious parties. The Bishop himself, in the introduction to this work, gives a distinct account of the object he had in view: "The view I have had in this present work, is to assist the most unlearned; and, beginning with the first rudiments of Christianity, to conduct the reader, step by step, through the whole body of the principal truths of revelation, so that the knowledge of one truth may serve as an introduction to those which follow. The sacred Scriptures are an inexhaustible fountain of heavenly knowledge, but are commonly less used than they might be, in illustrating and establishing the truths of religion. A text or two, hinted at now and then, seem lost in the multitude of other reflections and reasons which surround them;

but when the principal stress, both of the explication and the proof, is laid upon these divine oracles, and a number of them are placed in the proper order for illustrating the point in question, this gives an incredible force to what is proposed—shows that it is God Himself who speaks, and cuts off all occasions for human sophistry to enter." The extraordinary merit of the work was at once acknowledged. There came demands for copies from all parts of the kingdom. The English Bishops made many purchases. Archbishop Carpenter desired to have an edition for Dublin, and requested of the author permission to publish it. This edition was soon followed by a second. All this must have been highly gratifying to the Bishop ; and he so expressed himself: "Our Irish friends have done great honour to the 'Sincere Christian.'" The Archbishop of Dublin recommended it to all his clergy as a model of catechetical instruction. In writing to Bishop Geddes, he complained of *the getting up*. The paper was not to his mind ; but he was pleased to think that the printer had promised something better for the second part, "when the great and good Bishop Hay will please to furnish us with it." There have been many editions of this able work in the United Kingdom, Ireland and America. It has also been translated into foreign languages.

It would be a rare work, indeed, that could escape all criticism. Appended to the "Sincere Christian" was an appendix treating of the possibility of salvation out of the true Church of Christ. Some of the author's friends remarked that in this treatise he had stated the case more harshly and inexorably than was consistent with the recognized possibility of invincible or insuperable ignorance. It was quite another question as regards the number of those who, from their sincerity and virtuous life, may have the benefit of this ignorance, although not outwardly belonging to the body of the Church. The author's literature, one would say, was more at fault than his theology. This view is confirmed by the remarks of Bishop Geddes in reply to Bishop Hay, who had asked him to point out anything that seemed to him to require correction or amendment: "I do not really remember any particulars to be amended in the 'Sincere Christian.' I remember, indeed, to have said to yourself that I did not entirely approve of your calling so much in question the salvation of every one out of the outward Communion of the Church, as I thought it very probable that some are saved out of it in consequence of the continuation of their invincible ignorance, and of their innocence after they are come to the years of discretion. But, I cannot venture on urging you to change anything on that subject." Bishop Talbot was even more decided in expressing his opinion. He gave it his entire approval; and when a certain noble lord criticised it unfavourably he frankly told him that he admired it to such a degree as that he should have thought it an honour to be the author of it; and that the outcry against it seemed to him the best proof of its propriety, if not even of its necessity.

In 1783 appeared another instructive work from the pen of the same author, "The devout Christian instructed in the faith of Christ." Like the former work, it abounds in quotations and illustrations from the sacred Volume. It may be considered as a continuation, or second part of the "Sincere Christian;" but is more devotional, while not neglecting doctrine. Hence its title, "Devout Christian," etc. It would be superfluous to discuss the propriety of this title, which the author, no doubt, adopted in order to indicate that it tends more directly than the work which preceded it, to promote the leading of a devout Christian life. It was welcomed at the time of publication in England and Ireland. Bishop Talbot, in particular, showed his appreciation by becoming accountable for any number of copies of the whole work (he considered the "Sincere Christian" and the continuation which followed, as one work) which the author might choose to send him. It is much to be regretted that the style is not equal to the doctrine of the book. This literary blemish has always been a hindrance to the popularity of the "Devout Christian." It is so, particularly, in this age of literary pretension and refinement.

The Catholics of England sustained, this year, the loss of a highly esteemed and much loved prelate, those of Scotland a zealous and warm friend. On the 10th of January, 1791, the venerable Bishop Challoner was seized with a stroke of paralysis while at dinner with his chaplains. Two days later a second stroke ended his days in the 90th year of his age and the 41st of his episcopate. He was long distinguished, not only as an able Bishop, but also as a Theological and Historical writer. His "Meditations" still continue to edify the Catholic people; and his history of the martyrs of the worst days of persecution is read with interest. An elegant edition of this admirable work was published lately by Mr. MacVeigh of London and Dunfries.

Bishop Geddes, having spent nearly eleven years in Spain, now bade farewell to the Scotch College of Valladolid and directed his steps towards Scotland. He had obtained at Madrid, from men of influence there, letters of introduction to Lord Hillsborough and Lord George Germain. In passing through Guipuscoa he visited the room in which Saint Ignatius was born, and saw the bed on which that celebrated saint lay when ill of his wound. When he reached London, he found there letters from Bishop Hay enclosing introductions to several public men; and among others, to Lord George Germain, a member of the cabinet, and Sir Grey Cooper, secretary to Premier Lord North. Agreeing with Bishop Hay that it was advantageous to cultivate the friendship of men in power, he, in compliance with the Bishop's desire, sought an audience of these distinguished men. It was important that these powerful statesmen should be fully aware of the good disposition of the Bishops and of their earnest desire to show themselves on all occasions, good citizens and dutiful subjects.

A meeting of the three Bishops was to be held immediately after the arrival of Bishop Geddes, which was expected about the middle of May. The meeting, at which matters of great importance to the mission were discussed, proved to be of longer duration than usual, being protracted till after the middle of June. The presence of Bishop Geddes was singularly opportune and it had great part in the settlement of a long-pending dispute. A brother of Rev. Mr. Gordon, Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, who had been assistant in the College of Valladolid, and had served, for some time, in the Cabrach mission, unfortunately became insane.

There was a difficulty as regarded his maintenance; and there was, for a considerable time, a great deal of discussion whether the mission or the College in Paris should bear the burden. It was, at last, finally agreed, at a meeting of Bishops Hay and Geddes, together with Mr. Gordon, Principal of the Paris College, that the funds of the mission and another subsidiary fund called "Hacket's money," should provide for two-thirds of Mr. Gordon's board, while the remaining third should be contributed, in equal shares, by the Principal, Bishop Hay and his coadjutor, from their personal incomes. On the Principal was laid the charge of seeing that the patient, his brother, was properly carred for.

A man of rare merit in many respects, but singularly eccentric, became the cause of great trouble in the mission. Mr. Alexander Geddes had succeeded the saintly Mr. Godsman in the mission of Auchenhalrig. All went well for a time. Mr. Geddes was popular as a preacher, and his zeal as a missionary was abundantly shown by the frequency with which he extended his labours to the neighbouring mission of Preshome. As is often the case with men of genius, he was a bad financier. He incurred loss by speculating in house property, and by the building of a part of the chapel at Tynet, adjoining the park of Gordon Castle. He acquired a literary reputation by translating into English verse the select satires of Horace. This effort won for him the applause of the leading scholars of the time, Principal Robertson the historian, Dr. Reid, the eminent philosophical writer, and Dr. Beattie, author of "The Minstrel," and the able essay on Truth. Mr. Geddes would have done well to refrain from meddling with the general temporal business of the mission. It was injudicious on his part to attack any measures of the administrators of the mission fund which had been sanctioned by the approval of Bishop Hay. This opposition to the Bishop and the administrators was encouraged and participated in by Mr. John Reid of Preshome, and favoured by many of the clergy. It must have been very mortifying to Bishop Hay to find his measures severely censured and even thwarted, although not openly opposed. This was the beginning of the end. Mistrust and disputes followed. These were aggravated by the severe and unbending character of the Bishop, together with the constitutional irritability of Mr. Geddes, and, finally, led to an open rupture. Every untoward circumstance contributed to widen the breach. On a Sunday which Bishop Hay was spending with his friends in the Enzie, Mr. Geddes was so imprudent as, in company with a party of friends, to go in the afternoon to hear the minister of Banff, a Mr. Nichols, preach. The friends with whom he attended were the Earl and Countess of Findlater, who was a Catholic, and a Miss Barbara Stewart, a Catholic lady who resided near Preshome. All the party were Catholics except Lord Findlater, of whose conversion there was some rumour. It had long been the custom to consider a single appearance in the Kirk as an act of conformity; and even those whose friends forced them into the Kirk were held to be Presbyterians. This custom may not, at the time of which there is question, have been so much in vigour as when to conform was to gain all the temporal advantages that exclusively belonged to Protestants. It was still remembered, however, and parties who, of their own free will, made their appearance in any Kirk, at sermon or any other service, were by many considered as having joined the Presbyterians. The clamour that arose among the Catholics on occasion of Mr. Geddes and the friends mentioned having gone to hear a Presbyterian sermon affords sufficient proof of the prevailing opinion that, to be once *in* the Kirk was to be *of* the Kirk. The talk about this unlucky circumstance met the Bishop wherever he went; and, before leaving the Enzie, he remonstrated in a personal interview with Mr. Geddes, but, without, it would appear, any decided result. The Bishop then wrote to the offender; and by the severity of his expression and the threat of suspension, elicited from him a promise of apology. This promise failed to be fulfilled. The apology, if, indeed, apology it could be called, was rather a vindication of his conduct in the matter. The Bishop now required that he should choose between leaving the mission in a fortnight and suspension. Finally, he was favoured with "Dimissorials," which qualified him to offer and to give his services under more favourable circumstances. Bishop Hay, in a letter to Mr. Thomson of Edinburgh, says, "it was a real pain to him to write or to say anything against a person of his (Mr. Geddes') character."

January 3rd, 1781. Mr. Geddes, when chaplain at Traquair, had made friends, who, he was confident would not now desert him. The chief of these was Lord Linton, now Earl of Traquair, in succession to his aged father. In 1779, he (Mr. Geddes) had gone to London in order to visit his noble friend, Lord Linton. On his way, he passed through Edinburgh soon after the riots, of which he wrote an excellent account, adding many interesting particulars concerning the state of affairs at the time. He met with much attention on the part of the more eminent characters of Edinburgh, Lord Kames, Principal Robertson, Sir John Dalrymple, etc. As soon, however, as the populace discovered that he was a priest, as a matter of prudence he resumed his journey. On reaching London, he was cordially received by his friend, the Earl of Traquair; and the leading Catholic nobility, in consequence, no doubt, of the interest they took, at the time, in the Catholics of Scotland, paid him all honour. His introduction to Lord Petre proved to be more than honour, as he was destined, ere long, to experience. On occasion of the same visit to London, Mr. Geddes was also introduced to Samuel Johnson.

Soon after the affair with Bishop Hay, Mr. Geddes once more repaired to London; and there, through the influence of powerful friends, he succeeded in obtaining a chaplaincy in connection with the Imperial Embassy. In no very long time, however, the anti-Catholic policy of the Emperor, Joseph II., deprived him of this benefice. Honours, meanwhile, did not so easily forsake him. The University of Aberdeen, which is far from distributing indiscriminately academic favours, conferred on Mr. Geddes, in recognition of his genius, the high and rarely bestowed degree of Doctor of Laws. (LL.D.) To make a new translation of the Holy Scriptures is surely a herculean task for any one man. Mr. Geddes, nevertheless, feared not to undertake the gigantic labour. That excellent Catholic nobleman, Lord Petre, sympathizing with the able scholarly man who devoted himself to such laudable studies, settled on

Mr. Geddes an annual allowance of £200 during His Lordship's life, and £100 after his death, in order that he might have more leisure for the important study.

CAP. XXXI.

DR. A. GEDDES' BIBLICAL WORK COLDLY RECEIVED—HIS SCEPTICISM—COUNSELLOR CHARLES BUTLER'S CONSIDERATION FOR HIM—HIS DEATH—LAST MOMENTS HOPEFUL—HIS GENIUS, LEARNING AND BENEVOLENT DISPOSITION UNQUESTIONED—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BISHOPS, JUNE, 1781—THEREAT RESOLVED THAT BISHOP HAY PROCEED TO ROME—A FRIENDLY CARDINAL PROTECTOR—WISHES A NATIONAL RECTOR OF THE SCOTCH ROMAN COLLEGE—MR. CAMERON PROPOSED; BUT CANNOT BE SENT—EDUCATION OF THE STUDENTS SUFFERS—REVISION OF THE STATUTA MISSIONIS—A CONVENIENT RITUAL—TEMPORAL WANTS—SALARIES OF THE CLERGY—ASSISTANCE FROM PROPAGANDA AND FOREIGN CATHOLICS—DUTIES OF THE PRIESTS DISCHARGED GRATUITOUSLY—SOME SMALL RESOURCES—INCREASE OF CATHOLICS—PROPAGANDA'S FRIENDLINESS—COLLEGE AT PARIS INEFFICIENT—BISHOP HAY, WHILE AT ROME, PETITIONS IN ITS FAVOUR—ON HIS RETURN HOME VISITS THE NUNCIO AT SPA—VERY KINDLY RECEIVED—WELCOMED AT WIRTENBURGH MONASTERY BY FATHER M'KENZIE—DINES WITH THE PRINCE BISHOP, "A MOST WORTHY

PRELATE"—ARRANGED WITH ABBOT ARBUTHNOT AT RATISBON THAT A BOY BE MAINTAINED AT SCALAN FOR STUDY LATER AT THE MONASTERY—BISHOP HAY PRESENTS BOOKS TO THE MONASTERY—30 YEARS SINCE HE HAD BEEN AT ROME BEFORE—HIS DIGNITY—KINDLY RECEIVED AT AN AUDIENCE BY PIUS VI—PRESENTS A MEMORIAL—CARDINAL ALBANI GAINED TO HIS VIEW—PROPAGANDA DECIDES AGAINST ANY CHANGE IN THE COLLEGE—40 YEARS LATER, A SCOTCH RECTOR APPOINTED—IN OTHER MATTERS THE BISHOP MORE SUCCESSFUL—AN ANNUAL SUBSIDY.

Notwithstanding all the pains that were taken, the biblical work of Mr. Geddes, when the first parts of it appeared, was very coldly received. There were notes appended to it in which profession was made of the scepticism which was the fashion, at the time, in Germany. No wonder if the English Catholic Bishops found fault, and to such a degree, as not only to forbid the reading of it to their flocks, but also to suspend the author from the exercise of his clerical office. It would have been to his credit if he had meekly accepted this judgment of the Church. Protestant scholars were no less dissatisfied. They pronounced the work of Mr. Geddes a "complete failure." (*Chambers.*)

Counsellor Charles Butler a distinguished Catholic of London, whose writings do honour to his memory, was personally acquainted with Dr. Geddes, and thus speaks of him in the following terms: "Those who knew him, while they blamed and lamented his aberrations, did justice to his learning, to his friendly heart and his guileless simplicity. Most unjustly has he been termed an infidel. He professed himself a Trinitarian, a believer in the resurrection and in the divine origin and divine mission of Christ; in support of which he published a small tract. He also professed to believe what he termed the leading and unadulterated tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. From her,—however scanty his creed might be,—he did not so far recede as was generally thought. The estrangement of his brethren from him was most painful to his feelings. I have more than once witnessed his lamenting the circumstance, with great agitation, and even with bitter tears."

The death of this remarkable man took place at his house in the new road, London, on the 26th February, 1802, in the 65th year of his age. A French priest who visited him, when on his deathbed, persuaded him to make some apology for his errors. It is related, however, that when this priest returned the servant refused to admit him. This ought not to count for much. If the patient, when death's dark shadow was upon him and his intellectual power departed, gave an ungracious order to his servant, it was inconsistent with what he had recently said, whilst, as yet, he was of sound mind. It is evident that his religion and his priesthood were, at the last supreme moments, nearest his heart. When a Catholic woman of the neighbourhood understood that he was dying, and hastened to his room, he was not ungrateful, and showed his thankfulness by imparting to her, and it was with his last breath, his sacerdotal benediction. Paddington cemetery received his remains, according as he had desired. The funeral was numerously attended, and by many persons of distinction. "Few men," writes Counsellor Charles Butler in his memoirs of English Catholics, "could boast of warmer or of more respectable friends; for, no one ever called in question his learning or the benevolence of his disposition."

The annual meeting of the Bishops was held in June, 1781. There being several matters of the highest importance to the mission that could not be sufficiently expressed in the usual written report to Propaganda, it was resolved that Bishop Hay should proceed to Rome in order to hold personal interview with the authorities there, and consult on such things as could not so well be set forth in writing. Leave was easily obtained; and the Bishop, after having executed a power of attorney in favour of

Bishop Geddes, as regarded all the monies, at the time, in Bishop Hay's house, prepared for his departure. He left Edinburgh on August 5th, and travelled under the assumed name of Signor Tommase Scotti. The state of the Scotch College was one of the chief objects of the Bishop's visit to Rome. Cardinal Marefoschi having become Protector of the College considering how ill it had succeeded under Italian masters ever since the suppression of the Jesuits, earnestly insisted that the Scotch Bishop should send a properly-qualified native of the country to take charge of the National College. Mr. Alexander Cameron, afterwards so distinguished as Bishop of the Lowland District, was thought of for this office. But the needs of the mission at home interfered. Bishop Hay represented that their brethren were already too much oppressed, and the people by no means served as they would need, many, in different places, dying, especially in the winter time, without assistance, in spite of all that could be done. He stated nevertheless, that if the higher powers absolutely commanded it, Mr. Cameron should go, and the consequences lie on their consciences. Finally, to the great loss of the College, the Bishops declined the proposal of Marefoschi. This unfortunate yielding to what the Bishops considered necessity, gave rise to evils which prevailed throughout the next quarter of a century. Mismanagement, especially during the latter part of this period, had produced its disastrous fruits. The education and training of the students suffered. Many abandoned their vocation, or were expelled for misbehaviour, and became a public scandal to religion on their return home. The wisdom of Cardinal Marefoschi's proposal was at length understood. The Bishops, unfortunately, were under the impression that at any time they could spare a priest, and the necessity was urgent, they had only to propose at Rome, the measure that had been so earnestly insisted on by Marefoschi. It was otherwise, however; for now, this good Cardinal and his successor Caraffa were no more. Notwithstanding the unfavourable position of matters, it was hoped that Bishop Hay's personal application to the Cardinal Protector, Albani, would obtain his assistance towards having a native of Scotland appointed rector.

Another affair which engaged the attention of the Bishop at Rome was the revision of the *Statuta Missionis.* These important documents owed their origin to Bishop Nicholson, who, in 1700, formed, with the concurrence of the clergy, a code of laws, or *Statuta* intended for the guidance of the priests of the mission in the exercise of their ministry. The sanction of the Holy See was soon afterwards obtained. The *Statuta* were not printed, but circulated in manuscript among the clergy. As new copies were required, from time to time, there could not fail to be errors of transcription. The Bishops, by collecting the most correct copies, with some difficulty reproduced them as they were originally written. Some additions, which the change of the times required, were made ; and it was now one of the objects of Bishop Hay's visit to Rome to obtain for this new edition the sanction of the Holy See, and to have a sufficient number of copies printed to meet the wants of the clergy in Scotland. He also had it in view to request the congregation of Propaganda to prepare and print a small Ritual for their use, containing only such things as were required in the daily exercise of the ministry. An easily carried book was wanted in a country where the priest was often obliged to make long journeys on foot, among the mountains, bearing with him his Breviary, his Ritual and the holy oils.

The Bishop, in visiting Rome, had in view also the temporal wants of the missionary clergy. Twenty years before the time of which there is question, the allowance of a priest from the common fund was only £8 in the country and £11 in towns. The expense of living was always increasing ; and this sum was found to be wholly inadequate. Propaganda considered this, and without making any fixed periodical grant, had sent a subsidy, from time to time, for the relief of the mission. Catholics in other countries had also generously responded to the calls, in behalf of the mission, made on their charity. By such means as these and by practicing the strictest economy were the clergy enabled to persevere. At the time of which we are writing, and for ten years previously, the priests had each £12 in the country and £18 yearly in towns. With all possible economy, so small a salary could not preserve from actual want; for it will be remembered that the priest had not only to maintain himself, but also a servant and sometimes a horse, when his mission was extensive and scattered. No contribution was, as yet, required of the congregations, except in some parts of the western Highlands, where the better class of people made their pastor a present of some article of food, on occasion of a baptism or marriage. It was considered that the duties of the ministry should be discharged gratuitously, in order to meet the calumny of enemies who ceased not to assert that the Catholic priest only sought self-interest and traded in religion.

It will naturally be asked, how, in such circumstances, the clergy could manage to exist? This question is answered, so far, by the following facts:

1st. There were certain foundations on account of masses which yielded from £3 to £4 a year. These the Bishops distributed by rotation to such of the priests as were most in need.

2nd. Propaganda often made a timely grant of money for supplying the missions.

3rd. In country places the priest almost always rented a small field which was large enough for a cow's grass and a kitchen garden.

4th. The Bishops had an allowance from Propaganda which, as a matter of necessity, they generally gave up in behalf of the poorer clergy.

In addition to the funds necessary for the maintenance of the missionary priests, comparatively large sums were required, every year, for the outfit and the journeys of ecclesiastical students going to and returning from the foreign colleges.

In the four years immediately preceding the Bishop's visit to Rome these sums amounted to £87 sterling. The Catholic population, it is satisfactory to be able to state, was always increasing; and this increase required a corresponding increase of the number of priests, which caused a constant diminution of the funds at the disposal of the mission. The clergy were willing, nevertheless, to continue most cordially their pastoral labours. They relied on the charity of the Holy See and the zeal of Propaganda. That congregation had already shown great affection for the poor Scotch mission. Its aid was now more necessary than ever, and the bishops concluded their petition with the words of the sisters of Lazarus: "Ecce quem amas œgrotat."

The Scotch College at Paris had for some time been in a state of inefficiency as regarded the sending of missionary priests to Scotland. It formed part of the Bishop's commission to petition Propaganda to the effect that it would do something towards restoring that institution to its former usefulness.

Bishop Hay's journey to Rome was happily accomplished, and without any very remarkable incident. When at Brussels he desired to see the Nuncio there; but His Excellency had gone to Spa. To Spa, accordingly, the Bishop repaired, and was most kindly received by the Nuncio, who gave him the use of rooms in his own house. He was also present at a collation given in the public hall, by Prince Henry of Prussia, to the company assembled at the celebrated watering place. At dinner at the Nuncio's he met the Dutch President and the Princess of Stolberg, mother of the Princess who lived at Rome. At Wirtzburgh, he was cordially received by Father Mackenzie of the Scotch monastery there. The day after his arrival he dined with the Prince Bishop, whom he describes in his correspondence, as "a most worthy prelate, who acts much in the Episcopal character." This great dignitary placed his coach at the disposal of the Scotch Bishop during his stay at Wirtzburgh. In about ten days he pursued his journey to Ratisbon, his health improving as he travelled. He was well received by Abbot Arbuthnot; and it was arranged between them that a boy should be kept at Scalan for the monastery, the abbot and Mr. Menzies, O. S. B., paying for him between them. The Bishop made a present of some books for the use of the monastery. Among those which he ordered, at the time, from Coghlan, were the "Sincere Christian Instructed," his work on "Miracles," Butler's "Lives of the Saints," Tytler's "Vindication of Queen Mary," and "Pastorini's letters." On the 15th of October, 1781, he entered Rome for the second time, as a venerable Bishop full of years and honours. Thirty years had elasped since his first appearance there as a student. What pleasing memories must not the second visit have recalled! What a contrast! Of old, the aspiring student, with no other care than that of gaining knowledge and the delightful labour of acquiring it; now, the aged and careworn man, the pastor of a suffering Church, and yet, by the dignity of his office, and more still, by the inherent dignity of his character, conversing, on a par, with the rulers of mankind; once the humble ecclesiastic, now the tried diplomatist with diplomatic work in hand that would task the talent and energy of the ablest stateman!

Soon after his arrival in Rome Bishop Hay was favoured with an audience of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VI. He was kindly received, and on the occasion presented a memorial showing the business on which he had come to the city. His next step was to endeavour to gain to his views the Cardinal Protector, Albani. This dignitary was at first opposed to any change in the government of the Scotch College; but he was convinced by there presentations and arguments of the Bishop that the appointment of a national rector would conduce to its usefulness; and he now made every effort to promote this view. He laid the matter before the Pope, hoping that it would be referred to him (Albani) as protector, for settlement. The Holy Father, however, remitted it to Propaganda in order to obtain the opinion of that congregation. There was great opposition and much interest made with the cardinals against the proposed measure. The opposition was only too successful. At a meeting of eleven cardinals of Propaganda, nine pronounced against the change in the college proposed by the Scotch bishops. This decision was fatal to the view which Bishop Hay had so much at heart. It is not difficult to understand how grievously he was disappointed. Cardinal Albani consoled him, so far, by promising to contrive some way of making the desired appointment as soon as the opposition subsided. The efforts of the good Cardinal did not, however, avail; and it was forty years from that date before a native of Scotland was appointed to the rectorship of the Scotch College.

The Bishop was more fortunate in his negotiations regarding the *Statuta* and of assistance to the mission. The *Statuta* were at first put into the hands of two canonists in order that they might be examined and search made in all the former decrees of Propaganda relating to Scotland, so that a complete body of regulations might be composed. Having passed through this ordeal, they were conditionally approved and then referred for further examination to a congregation specially appointed by the Holy Father. By this congregation they were formally sanctioned on 3rd April, 1782. Finally they were printed for the use of the Scotch mission by the Propaganda press.

Copies of the Ritual printed by Propaganda were voted for the use of the Scotch mission. Bishop Hay, however, some time afterwards, caused a Ritual which he prepared himself and had printed in London to be approved of by Propaganda. In reply to the petition of the bishops for some additional aid, an annual subsidy of 200 crowns was voted to the mission.

CAP. XXXII.

BISHOP HAY ORDAINS AT ROME—HIS LUGGAGE SEIZED—MADE TO PAY SIX GUINEAS BEFORE IT WAS RELEASED—PROMOTION OF MGR. ERSKINE—MEETING AT SCALAN—BISHOP GEDDES PROCURATOR—BISHOP HAY PRESENTS £600 TO THE MISSION AND £400 TO SCALAN—GRANT BY PROPAGANDA—MR. THOMSON AGENT AT ROME—GREAT OPPOSITION—THE HOLY FATHER INTERVENES—REFUSAL TO SEND STUDENTS TO ROME—ALBANI RETALIATES—THE BISHOPS YIELD—RESULTS OF UNCOUTH MANNERS—DEATH OF MR. J. FARQUARSON, AGED 83—NEW CHURCH AT ABERDEEN—BLACKFRIARS' WYND IN 1783—CHURCH THERE—BISHOP HAY PREPARES AT ABERDEEN, HIS WORK, "THE DEVOUT CHRISTIAN"—SCALAN CALLED PATMOS—GREAT DEARTH.

On occasion of the temporary cessation of his negotiations, Bishop Hay held three ordinations in the church of the Scotch College. On December 16th, being the third Sunday in Advent, he conferred subdeaconship on three of the students, Reginald McEachan, Alexander McDonald and Donald Stuart. He spoke of these young men as being "very promising." On St. Thomas' day, Dec. 21st, he ordained them Deacons; and on St. Stephen's day, Dec. 26th, raised them to the Priesthood.

Before leaving Rome, which was not till the third week after Easter, the Bishop sat for his portrait, which continues to be an ornament of the rector's room in the Scotch College. The three young men whom he had ordained accompanied him on his journey homewards, as far as Paris. They left him there and pursued their journey by Douai, Ostend and Newcastle. The Bishop remained a few days longer for the purpose, although not with much hope, of recovering some of the funds belonging to the College of Douai which were still detained, and were likely to be so for an indefinite length of time. His labour was of no avail, notwithstanding the friendly assistance afforded by the Bishop of Rhodez. On reaching England, the Bishop's luggage, consisting, among other things, of breviaries and other books, relics, beads and models which he had brought with him from Rome, were seized as contraband. This wrongful seizure caused some annoying correspondence with the customs' officials and detained him a few days longer than he wished in London. They made him pay six guineas before giving up his property.

Once more at Edinburgh, the Bishop despatched complimentary letters to the Cardinals Albani and

Antonelli, not forgetting to urge on the former the fulfilment of the promise he had made in favour of the Scotch College. He learned, when at Paris, that a former college companion and friend of his early days, Mr. Charles Erskine, had been appointed *Promoter of the Faith, a Canon of St. Peter's* and a *domestic Prelate* to His Holiness. This promotion called for congratulation. The Bishop wrote accordingly to congratulate his old friend.

The next duty that devolved on Bishop Hay after his return home, was to attend the annual meeting of the Bishops at Scalan in the beginning of August. Their Lordships appear to have had prolonged consultations, as they remained together till the end of the month. It was arranged that Bishop Geddes should reside at Edinburgh as Procurator; being authorized, at the same time, to transact foreign business through the Nuncio at Brussels, the Marchese Busca. At this same meeting, the administrators being present as well as the bishops, Bishop Hay intimated his intention of making the missions a present of the profits arising from the sale of his books and of the money which he had received as compensation for personal loss during the riots of 1779. He presented £600 to the mission fund and £400 to the seminary at Scalan. He well deserved, it will be owned, the thanks of the meeting; and the meeting cordially thanked him. The meeting heard also with pleasure of the grant which the Cardinals of Propaganda had voted towards the funds of the mission. It was equal to about £48 a year. Such was the increase of the number of priests that, notwithstanding, their means of subsistence were insufficient. It became necessary, in consequence, to seek additional provision. To this end a circular letter was issued requesting contributions.

The meeting over, Bishop Hay went from Scalan to the Enzie, purposing to spend some time with his friends there, and intending to visit Aberdeen by the middle of September. After this he spent a few weeks at Edinburgh for the purpose of communicating to Bishop Geddes all the information necessary for enabling him to discharge efficiently the duties of the Procuratorship.

It was announced, at the meeting of the bishops and administrators, that Mr. Thomson was to be sent to Rome, as had been proposed, to be rector of the Scotch College, as well as assistant and successor to the agent. This appointment was strongly remonstrated against, and by the senior priests. Whilst admitting that he was a good and able man, as well as a lover of study, they objected to his unpolished manners, his awkward address and embarrassed utterance. He could not, they affirmed, but make an unfavourable impression on all whom long acquaintance had not made aware of his real but hidden merit. It certainly did appear unsuitable to send such a person among people so highly polished and sensitive as the Italians. Both the offices to which he was appointed would require daily the exercise of qualities in which he was wanting. The protesting seniors would have had some one appointed who would have been likely to give the Romans a favourable idea of the nation. Bishop Hay had, generally on former occasions, invited the clergy freely to speak their mind. In the present case he could not be moved. His colleagues even failed to dissuade him. Mr. Thomson received his instructions and prepared for his journey to Rome. Before leaving he wrote a farewell letter in very affecting terms. After expressing the deep regret he felt at leaving his native country, where he had many friends whom he had no hope of seeing again, he continued; "But my regret for parting with you is founded on superior motives; and, believe me, it is one of the severest trials I have met with...... In spite of malice, envy, jealousy and prejudice, I shall always preserve an unalterable regard for you. I know the sincerity and uprightness of your conduct and intentions, and have often regretted to see you loaded with unmerited censure for doing your duty. You resemble

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the more other great and holy prelates who have been treated in the same manner, and I hope you will persevere with the same firmness." Mr. Thomson enjoyed the satisfaction of carrying with him to Rome the affectionate and grateful remembrance of the congregation at Edinburgh which he had so long and so well served.

Some of the senior priests, meanwhile, who had so strongly protested against the Bishop's appointment at home, had recourse to a very questionable way of making their protest known at Rome. An anonymous letter, full of extravagant abuse of Bishop Hay and Mr. Thomson, was concocted by Dr. Alexander Geddes; and this letter they concurred in forwarding to the holy city. It arrived opportunely for Cardinal Albani, who, on account of the arrangement he had come to with Bishop Hay, was assailed as soon as it became known, with petitions and remonstrances against the proposed appointment. The English and Irish colleges, especially, made more determined opposition than ever. The Cardinal, under so much pressure, lost courage, and not only gave up all idea of the appointment, but also refused even to admit Mr. Thomson into the College. The anonymous letter had just come in time to furnish him with a pretext for receding from his promise and resolution.

Mr. Thomson no sooner arrived at Rome than he found the doors of the College closed against him. He applied to the Cardinal Protector, from whom he could get no redress. Matters were so bad with him that he must have starved, but for the goodness of Monsignor Erskine. This most worthy prelate carried his case, without loss of time, before the Holy Father, who immediately ordered that Mr. Thomson should be provided with board and lodging in the Scotch College. In the course of a few months the agent went home in order to visit his friends, and deputed Mr. Thomson to act for him while absent, allowing him, at the same time, a share of his salary. Not long afterwards, through the death of Abbate Grant, Mr. Thomson was charged with the duties and enjoyed the income of the agent. He was now, as far as he was personally concerned, above heeding the petty persecution of the rector of the College. By inciting the students to treat him with discourtesy, the rector gave a lesson which was only too well learned. Discipline became relaxed. Several young men lost their vocations and left the College. The bishops remonstrated and petitioned for a remedy; but in vain. They resolved, at last, to send no more students. This was hard on Albani. He must retaliate; and the reprisals he adopted, it will be owned, were far from being justifiable. He suspended payment of the income arising from the legacy of the Chevalier St. George to the Scotch seminaries. *Tantæne animis cælestibus Iræ?* The Bishops sacrificed their just resentment to the public good; and continued to send students.

Mr. Thomson's uncouth manners caused, ere long, his breaking with the Cardinal Protector. One day, when on the subject of the rector-ship, an altercation arose, when Mr. Thomson expressed very freely, and not in the politest language, his opinion of Albani's conduct. His Eminence determined to see him no more; and so ended all hope of a native rector being appointed to the Scotch College.

Bishop Hay was grievously disappointed. We find him, however, at this time, visiting his parishioners at Traquair, Dundee, etc; and in this pastoral occupation, he, no doubt, found distraction and comfort. About the same time the abbot of the Scotch monastery at Ratisbon showed his interest in the mission by sending his congratulations on occasion of its affairs being entrusted to the management of so able a prelate as Bishop Geddes.

There died this year, at his residence in Bræmar, his native place, where he had chiefly resided since the suppression of his order, the Reverend Father John Farquarson, aged eighty-three.

On Christmas eve, 1782, a new chapel, or church, was opened at Aberdeen. It was pronounced the best that had been raised in Scotland since the "Reformation." The Bishop expressed his hope, he could not yet have certainty, "with the blessing of God, to enjoy quiet possession."

The following year Edinburgh resolved to emulate the northern city and provide a suitable church for its congregation. Direful experience had taught the Bishops and the parishioners that a retired corner was not the place for it. Nor was it considered safe to have a separate building. Accordingly they looked for a house in a populous quarter which might be made to suit their purpose by making alterations. It will surprise the modern reader to learn that Blackfriars' Wynd was the locality chosen. But it will be remembered that the Blackfriar's Wynd of 1783 was very different from the Blackfriars' Wynd of to-day. At the former period it was the abode of rank and fashion. The house which the Bishops selected had many advantages. None could have been more conveniently situated as regarded access from all parts of the city; and the population of the historic Wynd had long been familiar with the presence of a Catholic chapel. The house consisted of three stories, the uppermost of which it was proposed to purchase, and by raising the walls to provide a chapel sufficiently lofty, immediately under the roof. At the time of the purchase the first floor of the house was occupied by a lady of family, Mrs. Hamilton, of Belhaven, commonly called "Lady Pencaitland," who also had a small garden adjoining the house. The next floor was inhabited by two maiden ladies, Miss Jean and Miss Isabell Cockburn, daughters of the deceased Sir James Cockburn. Lady Pencaitland made strong opposition to the roof being raised. The owner, Mr. Buchanan, a lace weaver, although friendly, dreading injury to his lace business by offending the good lady, declined taking any steps towards obtaining legal permission for the purchaser of his property to build. Application was then made to the Dean of Guild to make the necessary changes. A competent party who was sent to inspect, reported favourably, and leave to raise the walls was duly granted. The agents of the ladies carried the case into the Court of Session. But to no purpose. The judges dismissed their appeal, on security being found that neither the walls of the house, nor the little garden should suffer, and that the uppermost floor should not be divided into small rooms to be let to poor tenants. Mr. Christie, the house agent employed to treat with Mr. Buchanan, completed the purchase by paying him the price, £175, and immediately made over the property to Mr. McNab, who acted for the Bishops and who, at once, transferred it to them by a formal deed. In making the alterations referred to, the appearance of a dwelling house, with chimneys, was retained. A room about fifty feet long and twenty-five broad occupied the whole length and breadth of the new floor. This room was the chapel. The public had access to it by the common turret stair which connected the stories of the house with one another. A small wooden stair inside the dwelling house, in the floor below the chapel, formed a private approach for the clergy.

The onerous duties of a parish priest fell to the share of Bishop Hay during the early months of this year, his assistant, the Rev. Paul McPherson, being in delicate health. He found time, however, for his favourite theological studies, and he made good use of it in preparing the work which was, at first, called the second part of "The Devout Christian." A room, lighted by a skylight, in the presbytery of Aberdeen, is shown as the place where he studied and wrote, when resident at the City of the North. The angel of the schools, Saint Thomas Aquinas, was the theologian on whom he most relied. His correspondence, meanwhile, was not neglected; and it required to be actively conducted, as the subjects were the Scotch College at Rome; and the Neapolitan Abbacies, together with discussions by letter, on money matters and the business of the mission, with his coadjutor and others. He wrote at this time, about some recreative excursions which he enjoyed, and by which his health was benefitted. He spoke in a pleasant style, of going on a visit to "Patmos" (Scalan ;) and mingling pleasure with business, *Miscuit seria ludo,* he journeyed to Fetternear, in order to baptize a daughter of Mr. Leslie, the Laird of that place. Once arrived there, he found that pleasure must give way to duty, a whole winter's work awaiting him—the instruction and preparation for confirmation of several recent converts in that locality which was destined to become famous in the annals of the Church. Such duty was pleasure in comparison with the more arduous duties which the severity of the season laid upon him. There was much suffering, and the scarcity pressed heavily on the poorer class of people. The Bishop was applied to from all quarters. Town and country alike had recourse to him. His charity was equal to the pressure, and he was able to meet its many demands by making available funds that would otherwise have remained undisturbed. The dearth of the time may be conceived, when it is stated that it was scarcely possible to procure oatmeal, at any price, for the use of the community at Scalan.

CAP. XXXIII.

BISHOP GEDDES AT EDINBURGH—"SOCIETY" UNFRIENDLY TO BISHOP HAY—BISHOP GEDDES CONCILIATORY—THE CLERGY IN THE NORTH SUFFERING FROM SCARCITY—RELIEF BY BISHOP HAY—THE HOLY OILS—POCKET MONEY TO STUDENTS FAVOURED BY BISHOP GEDDES WHO OVERCOMES BISHOP HAY'S OPPOSITION—DISPENSATIONS—RESERVED CASES—BISHOP GEDDES AND THE ANTIQUARIES—AN EXECUTION ATTENDED—GROWING LIBERALITY—"CAUSE CELEBRE"—MISS GORDON OF ACHANACHY—UNANIMOUS DECISION—BISHOP HAY DECLINES DEALING WITH A NEW BANK—LORD PETRE EFFACING A CALUMNY.

The arrangement, by which it was agreed that Bishop Geddes should reside at Edinburgh, was singularly opportune and beneficial. No man could have been better qualified to second the movement in favour of Catholics that had been in progress ever since the riots of 1774. It is a sad fact, but, nevertheless true, that people who inflict injury hate the injured party. Hence the populace of the capital who had so grievously wronged Bishop Hay, necessarily had an aversion to him. In consequence it would not have been safe for him to appear publicly for a considerable time. Latterly this unfavourable state of feeling had, in great measure, died out, and the Bishop, as has been shown, could discharge, without fear of molestation, both episcopal and parochial duties. This was far, however, from being an object of popular favour. Nor was the Bishop calculated to court such favour, any more than he cared to do so. Notwithstanding his sternness of manner, he gained the good will of all the eminent persons with whom he came in contact in the course of his negotiations. But those men of high education and ability judged not as "society" is apt to judge, by mere manners and forms of speech. "Society," however, is a power, and a very great power in every community. To conciliate this power was an important object with the friends of those people who were still more or less under persecution. To carry out this policy, if policy it may be called, of conciliation, a man of the gentle character and urbane manners of Bishop Geddes was eminently suited. It might be supposed that since the union of the crowns, and still more since the union of the Parliaments of the United Kingdoms, "society" had emigrated to the British metropolis. But this was far from being the case. Many heads of ancient families, together with scions of Scotland's nobility, had their abode, at the time of which there is question, in the Scottish capital. It was of no slight importance, when the transition from hostile to more kindly feelings was taking place, to cultivate the acquaintance of such parties. Many of them, though strongly Protestant, following the fashion of the time, could not fail to remember that their forefathers were Catholics, and they held it to be an honour as well as a pleasure to converse with such a representative Catholic as Bishop Geddes, whose dignity, demeanour and accomplishments entitled him to associate with them. The Bishop loved his religion and his flock too well to allow such opportunities to pass unimproved ; and, thus, although at the cost of much valuable time, lessening the prevailing prejudices. It does not appear that either his episcopal duties or the cares of his procuratorship suffered any serious loss or inconvenience. Bishop Hay, who relied more on his theological learning and inexorable logic, thought, at one time, and so represented to his friend Bishop Geddes, that it was a loss of time to attend so much to social amenities.

Nevertheless, there never was such neglect of either episcopal or financial duties as to induce him to appoint another Procurator, or seek a more attentive and helpful coadjutor. There was not even the slightest breach of the long standing friendship that had subsisted between the two prelates.

It is a melancholy fact in connection with the national famine to which allusion has been made, that several priests in the North were suffering from scarcity of food, whilst others were constitutionally delicate and little able to bear the hardships of their position. The Bishop, in consequence, wrote from Aberdeen to his coadjutor, asking him to procure at Edinburgh some supplies and send them to him at his (Bishop Hay's) expense, and to some of the clergy, through a merchant at Aberdeen.

An additional proof of the difficulties of the time is presented by the fact that it was impossible to bring together at Aberdeen a sufficient number of priests for the consecration of the holy oils. This rite, must, therefore, be performed at Edinburgh, where the difficulty was scarcely less considerable. The Bishop made a suggestion by informing his coadjutor how he himself had been accustomed to discharge this necessary duty. He sometimes began at an early hour in the morning, and thus allowed the assistant priests to attend to their congregations at the usual hour; sometimes the function was deferred until the public services were all concluded.

Bishop Geddes who, for so many years, had been the successful principal of an important educational institution, held the opinion that it was advisable to allow students at college the use of a little pocket money.

Bishop Hay, insisting on stricter discipline, held the opposite view. He was, however, so far convinced by the arguments of his learned and experienced coadjutor, that he was induced to say: "Whether the giving money to the boys in college be an expedient measure is a point on which we seem to differ in our opinion; whether it were advisable for me to take any steps to hinder it is another point in which I yield entirely to your reasons."

As regarded certain dispensations the Bishops were of the same opinion. They disapproved of publishing a general dispensation from the strict law of fasting during Lent. But power was given by the chief Bishop to the priests of the mission to grant special dispensations to private parties, whenever they should in conscience, consider them necessary. These dispensations extended to the law of abstinence so as to admit of using flesh meat on three days of the week, till Palm Sunday, but not in Ember week. Some good work was always required in place of fasting. The Bishop did not wish to be thought to hold the proclamation of banns before marriage indispensable, as the Church does not require that there should be no exceptions. He insisted very much on these proclamations at the commencement of his career at Edinburgh, the neglect of them being calculated to favour abuses. He now gave to his coadjutor full authority to grant dispensation from the said proclamations, whenever he should, conscientiously, consider it advisable.

Mr. Menzies, who has already been mentioned as pastor of the Highland congregation of Edinburgh, applied for faculties in a reserved case, to the Bishop, through the coadjutor. The latter could himself have imparted the necessary faculties; and this the Bishop showed him by referring to the original *Statuta*, which were recently confirmed by the Holy See. The words are: "*In quibus omnibus casibus Presbyteri*, præterquam in articulo mortis, consilium a nobis et facultatem absolvendi petituri recurrant." The Bishop adds: "Ubi verba *a nobis* tum Vicarios ipsos, tum etiam deputatos includant, necesse est, quoniam ad nos, vel illos recurrere judicentur. Et hoc concilio tibi coadjutori meo, omnes facultates, quoad forum internum, quas ipse possideo, jam ab initio concessi, iterumque concedo."

This year, 1783, was founded at Edinburgh the Antiquarian Society of Scotland. Many gentlemen of the country took an interest in this new institution. Bishop Geddes did not fail to avail himself of so good an opportunity of extending his acquaintance, whilst, at the same time, promoting an object to which it was so pleasing to him to give his countenance and support. At a meeting of the society he presented to the library a copy of Leslie's History of Scotland, when it was suggested to him by Lord Buchan, that he should present the world with a biography of the good Bishop of Ross.

A less agreeable duty now fell to the Bishop's lot, —that of preparing a prisoner for execution. It marks the growing liberality of the time that the magistrates afforded him every facility for visiting his penitent. The unfortunate man gave proof of all the dispositions becoming his situation. To use the Bishop's own words: "He went decently to death and gave great edification to all."

Bishop Geddes was always ready to assist his fellow Catholics in whatever circumstances of difficulty they might be placed. This year a case occurred which awakened his zeal and gave exercise to his ability as a negotiator or diplomatist. The case was that of Miss Gordon of Achanachy,—Achanachy, whose ancient castle had so long afforded a home and protection to the clergy in times of trial and persecution, a large room therein being set apart for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries. It must be noted here that John Gordon of Achanachy, the uncle and predecessor of the said Miss Gordon, had sold the estate to the Duke of Gordon and received from him a long lease on condition of paying to his Grace a moderate rent. This lease was the object of dispute between Miss Gordon, who claimed, as the daughter of George Gordon, next brother of John Gordon, and Rose of Pluscardine, who claimed as the nearest Protestant heir. It being possible that, according to the penal laws, the latter was entitled to succeed, Bishop Geddes considered it necessary to use influence in high quarters. Accordingly he obtained a letter of introduction from Bishop Hay to the Lord advocate. He also requested Principal Robertson to favour him with a personal introduction. One morning, the Principal having cheerfully consented, he breakfasted with this worthy gentleman and then proceeded with him to wait upon the Lord Advocate. He was well received, and a promise given that His Lordship would do everything in his power in the case of Miss Gordon. The Bishop, moreover, was kindly invited to renew his visit. This he soon did in order still more strongly to urge his suit. He was received with even greater cordiality than at his first visit, and the promise was repeated that no effort would be spared. Men of the state seldom forget politics, and the Lord Advocate took occasion to enquire how he stood with the Bishop's people. The latter replied that he was in high favour and not without cause. The case came first before Lord Eskgrove, who, remarking that it was one of great nicety, referred it to the inner court, or whole bench of Judges. Mr. Abercrombie, Miss Gordon's counsel, drew up an able pleading, which was shown to Bishop Geddes for his revision, before it was printed for the use of the judges. The services of the Lord Advocate were also retained. When the case came for hearing before the court, there were ten judges present. They were unanimous in their decision *that a Catholic could succeed to and enjoy a lease of land in Scotland, on equal terms with a Protestant.* The framers of the penal laws must have forgot to have it enacted that land held by lease should be subject to the same disability as that which is actually owned. Another great difficulty in Miss Gordon's case had been got over. In early youth, she had been sent for her education to a convent at Paris. Somehow on leaving the convent she had become governess in a family which she accompanied to Ireland. It was, for a long time unknown to her family what had become of her. A cousin made diligent search, and at last found her at Dublin, in a state of great destitution. During the time that she was missing, Adam Gordon, a younger brother of her father and of John Gordon, who had been an officer in the Neapolitan army, enjoyed, for about ten years, the lease of Achanachy. It would have been difficult, if at all possible, to prove Miss Gordon's identity, but for the fortunate circumstance of a lady who had been educated in the convent at Paris with her, meeting her in London, and, at once, recognizing her as her former school companion, Betsy Gordon.

There was question, at this time, of placing some mission funds in a new bank of Aberdeen. Bishop Hay, however, declined, chiefly on the ground that he already had relations with the Bank of Scotland. It is interesting to note that on occasion of the discussion which took place on this matter, the Bishop gave a statement of his own financial affairs. In one of his letters on the subject of the new bank, he says, "You know I have not twopence of personal property; my yearly income dies with myself; and though there be several sums paid out in my name, yet, I am only trustee for others, to whom they belong."

In speaking of our Bishops and other good Catholics, it is almost out of place to introduce the name of Lord George Gordon, the degenerate scion of an illustrious and Catholic house. But the narrative would not be complete without showing that it so happened, when this hopeful personage was engaged preparing a vindication of his conduct during the riots which he had excited, that Lord Petre, a Catholic, in a conversation with Lord George, had spoken to him of Bishop Hay, as a rash, meddling and turbulent person. Lord George published the substance of his conversation in a London paper. The Catholic peer, who, it must be supposed, had only been talking to a fool in the language of his folly, was grievously ashamed to see his remarks laid before the public, and accordingly, he bought up the whole impression of the paper containing them, and used every means of hushing up the matter before it reached the Bishop's ears. There are officious people, however, who take care that no good thing shall be lost. Some such person imparted the unsavoury remarks to Bishop Hay, but could not send him a copy of the paper, which was not to be found. The Bishop was under the impression that the ill-natured words had originated with Dr. A. Geddes, as they were much in the style of his attacks. Bishop Geddes, however, assured him that this was a mistake, and that Dr. A. Geddes was certainly not the authority from which proceeded the conversation published by Lord George Gordon.

CAP. XXXIV.

MR. JOHN REID ATTACKS THE BISHOP—AIDED BY A ONCE FRIENDLY MINISTER—KINDNESS OF BISHOP HAY TO THE CLERGY—HE COMPLETES "THE DEVOUT CHRISTIAN" ABBATE GRANT IN SCOTLAND—DEATH OF MR. J. PATERSON, PRESIDENT OF SCALAN—NEW LEASE OBTAINED—THE SCOTCH COLLEGE OF ROME—CATHOLICS OF THE HIGHLANDS 3,000 MORE THAN AT THE FORMER VISITATION—BISHOP HAY DOES PAROCHIAL DUTY FROM DEE TO DEVEON—THE LATE MR. GODSMAN—THE CHIEF GORDON FAMILY STILL FRIENDLY—MR. BURKE AT EDINBURGH—THE NEW CHURCH, ST. MARGARETS' OPENED—THE BISHOPS MEET AT SCALAN—A NATIONAL RECTOR FOR ROMAN COLLEGE STILL INSISTED ON.

It is not to be wondered at that a man like Lord George Gordon should have uttered rash words against the character of Bishop Hay ; but it is, indeed, surprising that any of the clergy in whose cause he laboured so assiduously, and, it must be added, with so much success, should have spoken hardly of him. This was done, however, and in a very marked manner, by Mr. John Reid. This priest having heard a rumour that the bishop intended to reside at

Preshome, wrote an indignant remonstrance to Bishop Geddes, deprecating such a purpose, and indulging in most bitter invective against Bishop Hay on account of various alleged foibles and errors. It was less astonishing that he should be disliked by Presbyterian ministers. The concluding chapters of his "Sincere Christian" account for this dislike. One of these ministers, who had been his friend, Mr. Geo. Grant, of Rathven, wrote, at the same time as Mr. Reid, to Bishop Geddes, a fault finding letter which was, indeed, calmer in tone, but equally bitter, inveighing against Bishop Hay, his bigotry and the spirit of his recent controversial work. There is some excuse for the minister, as the *odium theologicum* must have been stirred up in no ordinary degree. But the Bishop's tender solicitude for the welfare of the clergy shows that he was wholly undeserving of the reproaches of Mr. Reid. There are numerous instances on record of his kindness to priests who were disabled from age or infirmity. The case of the chaplain at Traquair, the aged Mr. Cruikshanks, is one among many. The family of Traquair were about to break up their establishment with a view to reside, for some time, abroad. Bishop Hay, hearing of this arrangement, wrote a kind letter to Mr. Cruikshanks, desiring to know how he could serve him in the circumstances. The venerable priest had promised to see Bishop Geddes and consult with him. "This, however," wrote the senior Bishop, "does not entirely satisfy me, because I wish to have the pleasure myself of showing my affection for you in the present emergency; and, therefore, I beg you will let me know what would be agreeable to yourself and what it is in my power to do for you. I do not propose your having any charge; your state of health and infirmities prevent that; but would you wish to be here with me? I shall make you very welcome. Would you wish to stay with your niece at Clochin? I shall help to make that easy for you. Only let me know, my dear sir, what would be agreeable to you, and be assured that I shall be happy to show my affection and regard for you, as much as I can, to your satisfaction."

Bishop Hay spent part of his time, this summer, 1783, in completing his work, "the Devout Christian." He also undertook journeying on foot to the northern parts of his district. He was favoured with fine weather; and his health improved so much that he became fond of this way of travelling. He visited the Enzie, and then proceeded to Aberlour, Sheuval and Scalan, where Bishop MacDonald was to meet him about the middle of August. About the same time Bishop Geddes left Edinburgh in order to join the Bishops at Scalan, their usual place of meeting.

Meanwhile Abbate Grant arrived from Rome in order to visit his relatives; and he accompanied the Bishop on his northern tour. The agent was largely acquainted with the nobility and gentry of Scotland, to whom he had shown civility at Rome. Together with the Bishop, he paid a visit at Belmont castle, the seat of the Lord Privy Seal. This statesman entertained them very cordially and showed them his gardens and fine observatory. Here the Bishop took leave of Abbate Grant and pursued his journey alone.

This year, when the Bishops met at Scalan, occurred the death of the worthy president of the seminary, Mr. John Paterson. When on his death-bed, he held a long conversation with Bishop Geddes, and earnestly advised him to secure a renewal of the lease of Scalan. The Bishop lost no time in acting on this advice. The Duke of Gordon, who owned the property, was, at the time, staying at his shooting lodge of Glenfiddich, not far from Scalan. Bishop Geddes repaired to that place, saw the Duke of Gordon, and obtained from him a renewal of the lease. On his return next day, August 20, he found Mr. Paterson worse,—so ill as to have had the last rites administered to him. The tide of life was ebbing fast; but he was still cheerful and possessed of all his faculties throughout the day. In the afternoon he fell into a lethargy and passed away between ten and eleven o'clock at night. Mr. Paterson had been greatly esteemed by the bishops and the clergy generally. He was, accordingly, much regretted. Bishop Hay shewed his sympathy and regard by the way in which he spoke of him. When intimating the good priest's death to the young man who accompanied him on his journey, he shewed extraordinary regard and affection. Wringing his hands, he exclaimed: "O John, John, we have lost our head!"

The Scotch College at Rome appears to have been the chief subject of the deliberations of the Bishops at their meeting. This institution, which ought to have been highly advantageous to the misson, was still in a very unsatisfactory condition. Strong representations were addressed to the Cardinal Protector and the Cardinals of Propaganda; but, as formerly, they prevailed not. No wonder if the Bishops now seriously entertained a measure they had, some time ago, had in contemplation,—that of declining to send any more students to the College.

The statement by Bishop Macdonald of the condition of the Highland district afforded a more cheering subject for consideration. He had the pleasure to report that there was an increase of three thousand in the number of Catholics in his vicariate, since his last visitation.

Bishop Hay now appears as the donor of a fund for the relief of the poorer clergy; and writes to his coadjutor, discussing the distribution of this fund as if a Mr. Neiluad (Daulien) had presented the same. He was indifferent as to whether the coadjutor or himself should have the credit of making the donation. If it appear to come from the former and attract to him the affection of the priests deriving benefit, he will be as well pleased as if the gift were known to proceed from himself, as the same amount of good would be derived from the clergy being attached to the coadjutor as to himself. This is more than the revilers of the Bishop could have expected. It shows, however, like all the rest of his conduct, how unjustified they were in their attack upon him. It would even be more gratifying to him, he wrote, if the good he hoped for appeared to arise from attachment to the coadjutor, as he considered himself unworthy of being an instrument in the hands of God for doing any good.

Early in November of this year, the new house in Blackfriars' Wynd was ready for occupation. It only remained to remove the furniture from Bishop Geddes' residence in Dickson's close. This was speedily done, and on the 7th November the Bishop enjoyed the comfort of his new dwelling. The house was tolerably commodious, there being three rooms with fire places, as many well-lighted closets and a good kitchen on one floor. The Chapel, Sacristy and Library were on the floor above; and there was a good garret. The Chapel could not be ready for use sooner than the following summer. Bishop Hay wrote to impart his blessing and wish his coadjutor much joy in the new house.

So numerous and pressing were the occupations of Bishop Geddes at this time, that he was obliged to decline taking charge of Bishop Hay's accounts. It was now necessary that Abbe Paul McPherson should take charge at Stobhall. This change laid on Bishop Hay the parochial duties of Aberdeen. He undertook them cheerfully, his time no less than his money being always so employed as best to serve the cause of religion.

The failing health of Mr. Robert Grant, the Principal of the Scotch College at Douai, induced him to repair to London in order to consult the physicians there. His brother, the Abbate, who had gone from England to spend the winter at Douai, accompanied him. Notwithstanding all that was done for him, he became daily worse, and at last, having received the sacraments of the dying, he departed this life in the house of Dr. Alexander Geddes, his brother, the Abbate, assisting him in his last moments. He was very much and justly regretted. He was distinguished by his piety and good sense, whilst to his gentleman-like accomplishments was chiefly due the success of his negotiations for the recovery of the College at Douai. It was difficult to find a competent successor. A Mr. Young was mentioned; but he positively declined to accept. Dr. Alexander Geddes was proposed and had the active support of the Abbate Grant. As may be supposed, however, he was not acceptable to the Bishops. Finally, the election fell on Mr. John Farquarson, who was, at the time, President of Scalan. Mr. Alexander Farquarson, recently arrived from Rome, replaced him in the Presidency of Scalan.

There was question now of having a general dispensation at the beginning of Lent as was the recognized practice among the English Catholics. Their circumstances, however, were so different from those of the Scotch Catholics, that the Bishops judged it expedient to authorize the priests to grant dispensations in private as might be necessary. At this date, we meet with the first mention of the "boy Andrew Carruthers"—who preceded Dr. Gillis as Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District. There was question of sending him to Douai; and he was sent there accordingly.

Bishop Hay was averse to granting any dispensation when it could be avoided. In the case of a proposed mixed marriage, Mr. Reid of Preshome, asked for one. In according it the Bishop desired that Mr. Reid should explain to his congregation that it was granted because the woman was poor, and dependent for her support on her own exertions. It was also made a condition that the husband should offer no hindrance to her in the exercise of her religion, and that he should let her have the children, or at least the daughters, if he can be induced to do so. There is greater strictness even than this in Canada. It is absolutely required, in such cases, that *all* the children should be brought up as Catholics. It was remarked, as a characteristic of this faithful pastor, that he was more ready to grant dispensations to the poor than to the rich. A notable instance of this disposition is on record. A gentleman of Galloway, a friend of the Bishop, applied for a dispensation in favour of his chaplain, who was an aged and infirm ex-Jesuit. He pleaded the age and infirmities of the good priest and the difficulty in this part of the country of obtaining fish and other abstinence food. He accompanied his application with a request on his own behalf for a similar indulgence for himself and his family. It must be observed that this gentleman was stout and healthy. So, the Bishop, in his reply, willingly allowed what was asked for, in favour of the aged priest; but said, at the same time, that he knew no one more likely than his friend to derive benefit from occasional fasting and abstinence.

As illustrative of the difficulties and hardships of the comparatively small number of clergy in Scotland at the time of which we are writing, it may be mentioned, that, on occasion of the retirement in consequence of a stroke of paralysis, of an aged and worthy ex-Jesuit, who had laboured for a long time in Buchan, an extensive district in the north of Aberdeenshire, Bishop Hay himself was under the necessity of taking charge of the mission there. It was not long till he experienced the difficulties which awaited him.......On the 1st of March, he was called to baptize a child in Buchan. The journey from Aberdeen was a pretty long one; and the Bishop was obliged to perform twenty-one miles of it on foot, owing to a deep fall of snow, which rendered travelling on horseback impossible. The laborious duty occupied three days. He did not, however, suffer in his health from so much fatigue. But he could not but look forward to similar journeys, as there was none but himself to answer the calls of the parishioners in the whole country, extending between the rivers Deveron and Dee.

In digging a grave for a deceased student who had returned from Paris in bad health....the parties employed came upon the coffin of Mr. Godsman. Partly from curiosity and partly from affection for their late pastor, the people attending the student's funeral, caused it to be opened; and wonderful to relate, the body of the venerable priest whom they loved so well was found to have undergone scarcely any change after being fifteen years in the grave. The news spread rapidly throughout the Enzie; and many parishioners came to look once more on the countenance of him whom they had revered so much in life. The late Bishop Scott, then about twelve years of age, whose father's house at Chapelford was close at hand, was among the number; and in after life related the extraordinary circumstance to his friends. The Rev. Mr. Mathison of Auchenhalrig made a strict examination, and found the body to be in a state of wonderful preservation, showing no sign of corruption except that the lower jaw was fallen down upon the breast. But, does not falling down of the lower jaw always take place immediately after death? The coffin was still entire. But the linen and the chips of wood within it were all consumed. The dryness of the soil in St. Ninian's cemetery, it was generally believed, accounted sufficiently for the wonderful preservation of the body. This opinion was fully confirmed some years later when the remains were found to be decaying.

On occasion of visiting his sister in the Enzie, Bishop Hay happened to meet the Duchess of Gordon; and this is a fact connected with the history of the relations of Catholics with Protestants, of sufficient importance to be recorded, particularly as the illustrious chief family of Gordon was no longer Catholic. The celebrated lady, Duchess Jane of Gordon, desired to make the acquaintance of Bishop Hay, and politely invited him to Gordon Castle.

As his time was limited, he was obliged to excuse himself. On which the duchess asked him to pay the visit next time he was in the country. It is known that he did so. On one occasion he went with the intention of staying only one night, but was prevailed upon to prolong his visit till the third or fourth day. This was proof of friendly relations. The Bishop did wisely to cultivate and improve them, the more so as the Duke of Gordon had recently renewed the lease of Scalan and, in other ways, showed kindness to Catholics.

The celebrated Mr. Burke, on a journey northward, was at Edinburgh the first week of April. Bishop Geddes went to visit him and was most cordially received. The great statesman asked in the kindest manner for Bishop Hay and desired that his most respectful compliments should be sent to him. He returned the visit of Bishop Geddes on the following day.

It says much for the improved state of feeling at Edinburgh as regarded Catholics, that Bishop Geddes could take possession, without the slightest molestation, of the new chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd. June 10th, St. Margaret's Day, and also the day on which fell the festival of Corpus Christi, the chapel was occupied, for the first time, by the Catholic congregation. It was called St. Margaret's, and had cost a great deal. The seat rents, however, were more than sufficient to meet the expenditure. They yielded double the usual amount of interest on the money laid out; and, in less than two hours, on the day fixed for letting them, they were paid for the first half year, all but a few shillings.

The time for the meeting of the Bishops at Scalan was now at hand. They deemed it one of their most important duties to insist, in their report to Rome on the necessity of making a change in the management of the Scotch College.

They earnestly represented that nothing could restore it to usefulness but the appointment of a national rector. The scarcity of priests in Scotland was such, Bishop Hay wrote to Cardinal Antonelli, that he (the Bishop) was obliged to spend two weeks out of every six in making a circuit of forty miles among the Catholics of a district in which there was no pastor. The Bishops also wrote a joint letter to Mr. Thomson, directing and encouraging him under the difficulties and trials of his unfortunate position. He had all their sympathy, and that was, so far, compensation to him. His pecuniary circumstances were somewhat improved by the temporary absence of the agent. On the death of this worthy person in the autumn, he was still further relieved, having succeeded to the office of agent.

CAP. XXXV.

DEATH OF MR. ROBT. GRANT, OF DOUAI COLLEGE—ABBATE GRANT ALSO DIES—MURAL MONUMENT ERECTED BY HIS FRIENDS, THE EARL OF BUTE AND THE EARL'S BROTHER, STEWART M'KENZIE, LORD PRIVY SEAL—CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF THE ABBATE—ACCIDENT TO BISHOP HAY—BISHOP GEDDES AT FORDUN—THE CARDINAL DUKE OF YORK EVER MINDFUL OF SCOTLAND—A REMARKABLE CONVERSION, THE REWARD OF BISHOP GEDDES' FASCINATING PIETY—BISHOP GEDDES HIGHLY ESTEEMED—THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY—UNPLEASANT RESULTS OF "ECCENTRICITY"—BOTH CHURCHES OPEN—AT ABERDEEN DANGER OF A RIOT—BISHOP HAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLE—INTOLERANCE—A CASE IN THE HIGHLANDS—TRYING LABOURS IN THE HIGHLANDS—NEW ATTACKS ON THE BISHOP—DEATH OF REV. WM. REID—BISHOP HAY'S LIBERALITY.

The death of Mr. Robert Grant, the Rector of Douai College, was a severe shock to his brother, the Abbate, agent of the Scotch Mission at Rome. When at Douai, on his way back to Rome, the Abbate proposed spending a few days with Principal

Gordon, of the Scotch College at Paris. The eccentric Principal, however, to his great surprise and mortification, forbade him access to the College. There did not appear to be any cause for such rudeness. On the contrary, the Abbate had in former years done good service to the College, uniformly defending it against its enemies and calumniators. There had, indeed, been disputes between the Principal and the Scotch Bishops. But, Abbate Grant, living at a distance, had no part in them. Principal Gordon's strange conduct appears to have been attributed, at the time, to aberation of mind. This is all the more probable, as his brother, it will be remembered, had to be taken care of, having become decidedly insane.

The Abbate was in poor health when he arrived at Rome. Notwithstanding, instead of resting, as he would have required to do, after the fatigue of his journey and the trials he had experienced, he immediately began to visit his numerous friends. The consequence of this imprudence was a severe attack of dysentery and inflammation, which defied all remedies, and caused his death in the 74th year of his age (September 1st.) It is almost superfluous to say that, although habitually delirious during his illness, he availed himself of the lucid moments he enjoyed to receive the sacraments of the dying and make an edifying preparation for his latter end. He was buried in the parish church of Piazza Navona; and a mural monument in marble was erected to his memory in the church of the Scotch College by his intimate friends, the Earl of Bute and the Earl's brother, James Stewart McKenzie, at the time, Lord Privy Seal. It will not be denied that the urbane manners and obliging disposition of the agent, Abbate Grant were highly advantageous to Scotland. Many Englishmen of distinction, both Catholic and Protestant, were favourably impressed, and thought better of Scotland and the remnant of its ruined church, for the kind attention extended to them by the Abbate Grant. He was an honourable man, and an honour as well as an ornament to his country. He enjoyed, and most deservedly, throughout his forty-five years of office, the esteem and regard of the Bishops of Scotland. He was, also, in high favour with Pope Clement XIV,, and would probably have been raised to the dignity of Cardinal if that Pontiff had lived. Can we then honour too much the memory of the man who served his country so well, by discharging faithfully, and with credit, the duties of his office for nearly half a century; and who, finally died at his post?

In returning from Scalan Bishop Hay visited his Catholic friends at Aberlour on the Spey. While there, it happened that he fell on the stairs. At first the accident appeared to be slight, and gave him little trouble at the time. Afterwards, however, he complained of severe pain in his side which it occasioned, and which made it very difficult for him to write. He, in consequence, abandoned all composition. In other respects he was more fortunate. Mr. James Cameron came to Aberdeen to assist him, and not only relieved him of parochial duties, but also helped him with his correspondence. The Buchan mission was, at the same time, provided with a resident priest; and, in consequence, there was no longer any necessity for the Bishop's fatiguing journeys to that district. Mr. James Robertson, O. S. B., had returned from the Scotch monastery at Ratisbon, and was appointed to the charge—an appointment which shews that the monastery was still efficient as a Scotch institution.

Bishop Geddes, after parting with the chief Bishop at Aberdeen, paid a visit, along with Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, at Monboddo. He was there, of course, a welcome visitor. He also went to Fordun in Kincardineshire—a place rendered forever memorable by the historian, Joannes Fordunensis. Being there, the Bishop could not fail to visit the church of St. Palladius. He describes it as romantic and venerable, adding that it called up in his mind many serious reflections.

Allusion must sometimes be made to His Royal Highness, the Cardinal, Duke of York. He never failed to take an intetest in the Church and Catholics of Scotland. He was particularly attentive to Mr. Thomson on occasion of Abbate Grant's death. His attention was so marked that Bishop Hay considered himself called upon to address a letter of thanks to the good and eminent Cardinal. His Eminence had used his influence, and successfully, in order to obtain that the salary which Abbate Grant had enjoyed should be continued to Mr. Thomson, who succeeded him as agent. Bishop Hay looked upon this service as done not only to himself, but also to his colleagues and all the Catholics of Scotland. "I think it my duty," he says in his letter of thanks, "to testify to your Royal Highness the grateful sense I have of this favour, and to return you my hearty thanks, both in my own name and in the name of all our body, as any act of kindness done to one we must consider as redounding to us all."

A circumstance now occurred which admirably showed the power of charitable and conciliatory manners. This was a remarkable conversion, which, next to the grace of God, was due to the gentle piety of Bishop Geddes. Mr. Austin Jennison, once a member of the Society of Jesus, and chaplain to a noble family in the South of England, had renounced his faith and become notorious as a popular preacher, in connection with the Scotch Episcopalians, first at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Leith. It was his good fortune, however, to be restored to the fold. There is no record of any other outward means being employed in bringing about his reconciliation to the Church than the judicious and mild counsels of Bishop Geddes. He became penitent and reformed; giving proof of his sincerity by resigning his Protestant charge, which was a lucrative one. He also renounced the society of his wife, a lady of family, and of their three children. For all these ample provision was made; and he himself, with the concurrence of Bishop Talbot, the successor of Bishop Challoner, retired to the College of St. Omer, where he became Professor of Science. This position he retained till the year of the Revolution, 1793. He died abroad the following year.

Bishop Geddes was now at the height of his reputation in the society of Edinburgh. Among the learned of the day, particularly, he was popular and influential. The lively interest which he took in the Antiquarian Society, then recently founded, brought him into relation and correspondence with many persons of the highest distinction.

It was otherwise with Bishop Hay. That he should have been an object of dislike to Protestants is not astonishing. *Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem lœseris.* They had wronged him too much ever to be able to bear him any good will. But, that any of the clergy, for whom he did so much—increasing their means of subsistence, raising them in public estimation, extending their influence, and, when through age or infirmity, they became incapable of duty, providing for their comfort—should have borne any ill-feeling against him, is wholly unaccountable. It is, indeed, true that the chiel parties who reviled him, writing satirical and malevolent letters, were affected with what is politely called eccentricity. Mr. John Reid and Mr. James Cameron, with others in Scotland, and Dr. Alex. Geddes, at London, took pleasure in this kind of correspondence, even writing to Bishop Geddes, sometimes, to the prejudice of his friend and superior. The odium excited by Mr. Jennison's conversion and his consequent desertion of his family, fell wholly on Bishop Hay, although he had no part whatever in the matter, everything having been arranged by his coadjutor and Bishop Talbot.

On Christmas Eve both the chapels in Blackfriars' Wynd were opened and were well filled. Several Protestants attended the mass in St. Margaret's chapel. Nevertheless, everything passed off quietly. At Aberdeen the Catholics were less fortunate. It is well known that there prevailed among the Protestants of Scotland an idea that something extraordinary and awfully mysterious took place in Catholic churches on Christmas night. On the occasion in question curiosity led numbers to witness the proceedings at midnight mass. The crowd became so great that a serious riot was imminent during most of the night. The Bishop, in a letter to his coadjutor, gives a full account of all that occurred.

"On Christmas eve a great many strangers assembled in the close before the doors were opened, and were very noisy to get in; and when the doors were opened great numbers rushed in with our people. We behoved to give way, and when all were in, the outer gate was shut, and everything went on to the end with great quiet and tranquility within doors. But, without in the streets, great numbers gathered and increased, which, looking suspicious, some of ours that were there in waiting, informed the officer upon guard. But he, not daring to act without the civil magistrate, went to the Provost and told him the suspected danger, desiring to send some peace officer along with him. But the Provost, who was then in a company of twelve gentlemen upon business, told he would go himself, and all the company went with him. When they came, and a party of the military along with them, the mob was become very numerous—some said about two or three thousand—and appeared very obstinate to get in, refusing to let the others approach; upon which the soldiers were ordered to present their bayonets and press on, which they did, and the mob retired so that the soldiers got possession of the gate. But, the mob still appearing very riotous, the Provost ordered the soldiers to seize whom they could, and put them in prison. This they did, and some of the gentlemen who were with the Provost did the same, so that about sixteen were taken into custody; and the rest, seeing things turn into earnest, retired and dispersed. The Provost, however, ordered some soldiers to remain at the gate till all was over with us, and the gates should be shut. While all that was going on without doors, we were perfectly quiet within, and I knew nothing of the matter till next morning, when our door-keeper, who had been called upon by the Provost, came and told us the whole, and that His Lordship hoped I was not disturbed, and that he was to call for me himself by-and-bye. Hearing all this, I thought it proper to write His Lordship a letter expressing my concern for his trouble, with thanks, etc., and my wishes that nothing might be done to the prisoners, etc. This was given him when he was in council and several of the prisoners before him. He gave them a severe reprimand, and told them he would have given them fifteen days' imprisonment and a good fine, but that I, whom they wanted to injure, had interceded for them by letter, and on that account he would pardon them for this time, but, that they ought to go and thank me. Thus ended in peace this threatening storm; but, I fear, we shall be obliged to give up our midnight prayers on future occasions, not to give a handle to such dangers. Praying God to grant you a share of the blessings of this holy season, I remain, most honored and dear sir,

Ever Yours in Dmo,

DAULEY.

(*i. e.*, Geo. Hay, Bishop of Daulis.)

Aberdeen, 26th December, 1784.

Another disturbance at this time helped to show, as far as the spirit which it manifested could show, that Catholics could not yet rely on complete and uninterrupted toleration. This high principle was but little understood, notwithstanding all the light philosophy pretended to have shed on the eighteenth century. The disturbance referred to was the more remarkable, as it occurred in the Highlands, where Catholics were numerous, and consequently not without influence. A priest of the mission, Mr. Austin MacDonald, when visiting his scattered flock in Ardnamurchan, had assembled a congregation on a week day, to hear mass. A great number of Protestants, and among the rest, an itinerant preacher, called Fraser, gathered around the place where the Catholics were assembled. The priest, observing this unusual gathering, set about retiring without celebrating mass. The preacher, meanwhile, assured him that he had nothing to fear, and that he himself and the other Protestants would wait quietly till the service was finished. As soon as Mr. MacDonald concluded, he and his people began to withdraw. This, however, the preacher would by no means permit, and insisted, notwithstanding all that was said in the way of expostulation and remonstrance, that the Catholics should remain until he finished his sermon. This proceeding of an obscure preacher, although insignificant and puerile in the extreme, was the cause, nevertheless, of much bad feeling on both sides. Some of the neighbouring ministers threatened to harass the Catholics with prosecution, and would have caused them considerable trouble but for the friendly interposition of Bishop Geddes, whose influence with the law authorities at Edinburgh protected the Catholics from all injury, and brought down a well-deserved reprimand on the officious and offending preacher.

The Highland district was suffering in other ways. It was ill supplied with priests, the Bishops having at times, with great fatigue, to supply the want. A young priest, only two years returned from college, was taken seriously ill; and at midnight, Bishop McDonald was called to visit him. The first part of the Bishop's journey was long and fatiguing, through the snow on foot. He was then obliged to cross an arm of the sea in an open boat. This so affected his health that he doubted whether he should ever recover.

Bishop Hay, meanwhile, was annoyed by new signs of dissatisfaction among the clergy. Some of them who were to be appointed administrators, declared that they would not accept office. The Bishop, possessing the *mens conscia recti*, could not understand such opposition. "Is it some new persecution arising?" he wrote to his friend and coadjutor. "If so, God's will be done." And he continued, as usual his pastoral labours and visitations (1785). On Holy Saturday, March 26th, he lost one of his most valued priests, Mr. William Reid, who ended his long and useful life at Aberdeen. He had been engaged in the mission since 1759, and had always given proof of great piety, together with strong good sense. His death was, as his life had been, all-edifying; and in death, as in life, he was honoured by his numerous friends.

It is matter of history that in his riper years Bishop Hay had not forgot his medical learning. We now find him using it for the benefit of the mission. It is on record that all moneys that came to him, even the profit arising from the sale of his books, were devoted to this object, which, through all his life, he had most at heart. He had invented a pill, which is known by his name, and is still used in the North in cases of slight indisposition. He hoped that this medicine also would come to be a source of income to the mission.

A question had arisen as to who should be liable for the expenses of a priest when called to Edinburgh on public business. "When I was in your place," the Bishop wrote to his coadjutor, "I never put a question of that kind to Bishop Grant, even in the first years, when I had little to spare. I considered what I had as destined by Providence, not simply for my food and raiment, but also for all necessary charges in executing the proper functions of my state. Besides, I knew that Bishop Grant could as ill spare it as I. But, as circumstances are different in that respect at present, in case you find it inconvenient, you are very welcome to place it to my account."

pt.2 SMC
Dawson, Aeneas McDonell,
1810-1894.
The Catholics of
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